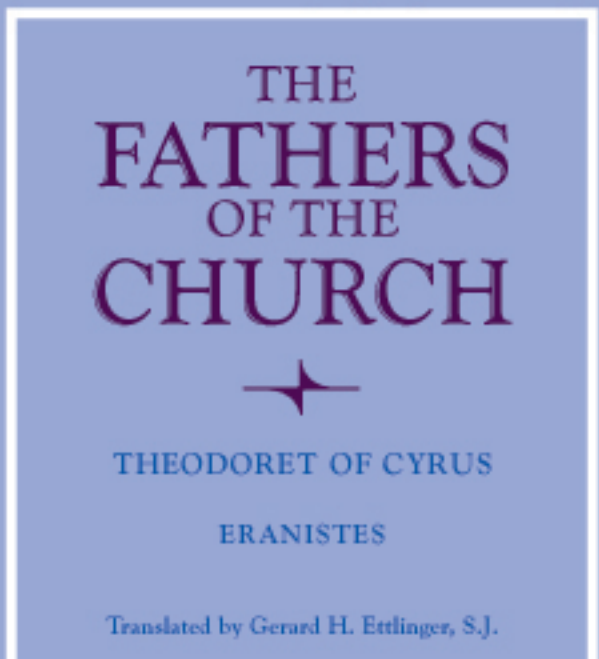
THE
FATHERS
OF THE
CHURCH
THEODORET OF CYRUS
ERANISTES
Translated by Gerard H. Ettlinger, S.J.

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

A NEW TRANSLATION

VOLUME 106

THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

A NEW TRANSLATION

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THEODORET OF CYRUS

ERANISTES

Translated by

GERARD H. ETTLINGER, S. J.
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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA PRESS
Washington, D.C.

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Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standards for Information Science—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48—1984.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING-IN-PUBLICATION DATA
Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrrhus.
[Eranistes. English]
Eranistes / translated by Gerard H. Ettlinger.
p. cm. — (The fathers of the church ; v. 106)
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 0-8132-0106-3 (alk. paper)
1. Jesus Christ—Divinity. I. Ettlinger, Gerard H. II. Title.
III. Series.
BR60.F3 T48
[BR65.T753]
270 s—dc21
[232/
2002007972

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ABBREVIATIONS

General

LXX	Septuagint.

Dictionaries, periodicals, and series

ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum.* Ed. E. Schwartz. Berlin, 1914–40. 4 vols.
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers. New York/Mahwah, 1946– .
CPG	Geerard, M. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum.* Turnhout: Brepols. 1, 2; 1983, 1974. Supplementum (M. Geerard - J. Noret), 1998.
CPL	*Clavis Patrum Latinorum.* 3d ed. E. Dekkers. Turnhout-Steenbrugge: in Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1995.
FOTC	The Fathers of the Church. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947– .
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (der ersten drei Jahrhunderte). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1897–1949; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953– .
LSJ	Greek-English Lexicon. With a Revised Supplement. 9th ed. Ed. H. G. Liddell - R. Scott - H. S. Jones, et al. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1996.
OAB	*The New Oxford Annotated Bible.* 3d ed. Oxford/New York, 2001.
ODCC	*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church,* 3d ed. Ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone. Oxford/New York, 1997.
OM	Richard, Marcel. *Marcel Richard: Opera Minora.* Turnhout: Brepols & Leuven: University Press. 1, 2, 3; 1976, 1977, 1977.
PG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca. Ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1857–86. 161 vols.
PGL	*A Patristic Greek Lexicon.* Ed. G. W. H. Lampe. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961.

PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina. Ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1844–64. 221 vols.
SC	Sources Chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf, 1941– .
Tanner	*Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils.* Ed. Norman P. Tanner, S. J. 2 vols. London: Sheed & Ward; Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990.

Greek Texts of Theodoret's Writing

Azéma, 1–4	Azéma, Yvan. *Théodoret de Cyr. Correspondance.* 4 vols. SC 40 (1955), 98 (1964), 111 (1965), 429 (1998).
Ettlinger, *Eranistes*	Ettlinger, Gerard H. *Theodoret of Cyrus. Eranistes: Critical Text and Prolegomena.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975.
Therapeutique	Théodoret de Cyr. *Therapeutique des maladies helléniques.* Texte critique, introduction, traduction et notes par Pierre Canivet. 2 vols. SC 57, 1958.
HFC	Theodoret. *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium.* PG 83. 335–556.

English Translations of Theodoret's Writings

Halton, *Providence*	Theodoret of Cyrus. *On Divine Providence.* Trans. Thomas Halton. ACW 49, 1988.
Hill, *Psalms*	Theodoret of Cyrus. *Commentary on the Psalms.* Trans. Robert C. Hill. 2 vols. FOTC 101–2 (2000–1).

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

1. Life of Theodoret

Theodoret of Cyrus[1] was born at Antioch in Syria about 393, received his education in the monastery schools of that city and was ordained bishop of Cyrus in 423.[2] He played an active role in the city's life, and in a letter written late in his career recalled that he had carried out an extensive building program and had struggled to root out heresy.[3] But he also found time for a scholarly life and wrote extensively in the fields of scriptural exegesis, history (of the Church, of monastic life, and of heresy), apologetics, and dogma. His life changed after he supported Nestorius in the conflict with Cyril that led to the Council of Ephesus (431); at the death of John of Antioch (441) he became the leading and last representative of the "Antiochene" tradition, and was embroiled in controversy from 447 to the council of Chalcedon (451). This council negated a censure he had incurred in 449, thus restoring him to good standing in the Church.[4] Almost nothing is known about him after the council, and the most disputed date of his life is that of his death, which is usually placed between 460 and 466.[5]

1. The city's name appears in two Greek forms: Κύρος and Κύρρος. The manuscript tradition of the *Eranistes* prefers the former, translated here as Cyrus.

2. See Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* p. 3, *ODCC,* pp. 1600–1, and Hill, *Psalms,* 1, p. 1. But see also Halton, *Providence,* p. 1; Halton says that Theodoret was born in 383 or 386 and, according to an "unconfirmed tradition," studied with John of Antioch under John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

3. See *Letter* 79 (Azéma, 2, 186–87) and *Letter* 113 (Azéma, 3, 64–65).

4. This period in Theodoret's life will be discussed below, in connection with the context of the *Eranistes.*

5. See Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* p. 3; Y. Azéma, "Sur la date de la mort de Théodoret de Cyr," *Pallas* 31 (1984): 137–55; and *ODCC,* pp. 1600–1.

2. *Eranistes or the Polymorph:* Date, literary structure, title

The book entitled *Eranistes or the Polymorph* is the fullest extant statement of Theodoret's Christology, and as such it can be described as a dogmatic treatise. But it also stands squarely in the areas of controversy and apologetics, since Theodoret attempts, not only to prove the truth of his own doctrine, but also to refute the teachings of his opponents. There is general agreement that the *Eranistes* was composed in the year 447.[6]

The *Eranistes* consists of five parts: a short expository prologue; three lengthy dialogues; an epilogue in three parts that parallel the dialogues and recapitulate their arguments in concise statements. The dialogues have titles that indicate their primary topics: "Unchangeable" [ἄτρεπτος], "Unmixed" [ἀσύγχυτος], "Immutable" [ἀπαθής]. These dialogues are not historical conversations, but literary constructions[7] that involve two characters: the eponymous Eranistes, who represents Theodoret's heretical opponents, and Orthodox, who is obviously the voice of Theodoret. Each dialogue concludes with an anthology of patristic quotations that support Theodoret's position; each anthology ends with quotations from Apollinarius, whom Theodoret considers a major heretic, to show, as he says, that even someone like Apollinarius agrees with him.[8]

Theodoret derives the name Eranistes from a play on Greek words, beginning with the verb ἐρανίζω, which in classical Greek basically means to collect [something] for oneself; the related noun ἔρανος could signify either a meal for which each person contributes a share, or a loan, or a permanent society

6. For the date see Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* p. 3.

7. For a discussion of Theodoret's use of the dialogue, see N. G. Wilson, "Indications of Speaker in Greek Dialogue Texts." *The Classical Quarterly* 20 (1970): 305 and R. Lim, "Theodoret of Cyrus and the Speakers in Greek Dialogues," *The Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 91 (1991): 181–82. In this edition the names will be written at the beginning of each new segment of conversation, but as part of the text, not in the margin.

8. See Dialogue 1, pp. 86–88.

that made loans; an ἐρανίστης was a person who contributed to a meal or who belonged to the type of permanent society just described.[9] In the patristic period the verb was used in the pre-Christian classical sense, but he is apparently the only early Christian author to use the noun ἐρανίστης, to which he has clearly given a new meaning.[10]

In the Prologue Theodoret says, "The title of my book is *Eranistes or the Polymorph,*[11] because they produce their own complex and polymorphous doctrine by collecting the wicked teachings of many evil men."[12] Thus he clearly links the name "Eranistes" with the action of collecting or gathering,[13] but after describing the process by which the heretics formed their doctrine, he concludes, "As a result, this heresy resembles clothes crudely stitched together by beggars from scraps of cloth; that is why I call this book *Eranistes or the Polymorph.*"[14] He goes beyond the concept of collecting, therefore, and gives the name a negative meaning, by describing Eranistes and those he represents as theological beggars or rag pickers.

3. Context of the *Eranistes* in Theodoret's life

The publication of the *Eranistes* was a significant event in Theodoret's life. He had become active in church life outside the narrow confines of his own diocese during the controversy between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople, when he joined the bishops from Syria and Asia Minor to defend Nestorius against Cyril, who had the support and approval

9. Cf. these words in LSJ.

10. Cf. these words in *PGL.*

11. The Greek word πολύμορφος refers to a person or thing that has many different shapes or forms; Theodoret uses it to describe both Eranistes and the allegedly heretical teachings in question here.

12. See below, p. 000.

13. At the end of the third dialogue Theodoret actually uses the verb with this meaning in the context of urging orthodox Christians to construct true faith by gathering (ἐρανίζομαι) the good teachings from Scripture and early Church teachers, in imitation of bees that gather honey from flowers in a meadow. See below, p. 252.

14. See below, p. 28.

of episcopal colleagues from Egypt, and of Pope Celestine and other western bishops. Theodoret played a major role in composing the documents produced by the eastern bishops at this time, and one of them, a lost writing called the *Pentalogos,* may have been one of his sources for the patristic anthologies in the *Eranistes.*[15]

The Council of Ephesus condemned Nestorius for doctrinal errors, but the process was suffused with bitter personal and political antagonism. Cyril prevailed, and Nestorius was deposed and ultimately exiled, but Theodoret and other eastern bishops continued to support him, at least in principle. Theodoret's support for Nestorius and his published attacks on Cyril would, as will be noted, cause him difficulties throughout his life and plague him after his death. The state of alienation that resulted from the Council of Ephesus persisted until 433 when Cyril, in a letter to John of Antioch, approved a statement proposed by John and initiated a period of relative peace. Cyril died in 444 and was succeeded as bishop of Alexandria by Dioscorus.

The years following Cyril's death eventually brought renewed theological and political unrest; the next controversy centered on Eutyches, an archimandrite of Constantinople supported by Dioscorus, who was accused of teaching that after the union of the Word with flesh there was only one nature of the Word made flesh. Many felt that this language expressed the thought of Cyril, who had employed such terminology because of Apollinarian texts that he mistakenly thought were from an orthodox source.[16]

In 447, as the debate over Eutyches was developing, the *Eranistes* appeared. Theodoret surely objected to the Apollinarian tenor of Eutyches's teaching, but he does not identify his adversary by name.[17] It remains unclear, therefore, whether the *Eranistes* was a cause or an effect of the renewed controversy; whatever the case, its polemical tone did not foster peace, but

15. See Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* pp. 23–31, especially p. 30.

16. See Frances M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon. A Guide to the Literature and Background* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. 259–60.

17. The identity of Theodoret's opponents will be discussed at length in the section on heresy and heretics.

was guaranteed to arouse the animosity of those who felt themselves under attack. In 448 Eutyches was condemned by a synod in Constantinople, and his appeal to Pope Leo I was rejected. In the same year an imperial decree, instigated or at least approved by Dioscorus, who had the support of the emperor Theodosius II, confined Theodoret to the city of Cyrus on the grounds that he was needlessly convening synods and disturbing the peace.[18]

In 449, under the leadership of Dioscorus, a group of bishops met in council at Ephesus;[19] they reinstated Eutyches and condemned a number of his opponents, including Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, and Theodoret. Flavian died soon after the council, and Theodoret appealed his own condemnation unsuccessfully. In 451 a new emperor, Marcian, called a council at Chalcedon, which issued a well known statement of Christological faith that sought to satisfy both the supporters of Cyril and his erstwhile opponents. The council overturned the decisions of the council held at Ephesus in 449, deposed Dioscorus, and condemned Eutyches and Monophysitism; it also reinstated Theodoret, but did so only on the condition that he formally repudiate Nestorius. His opposition to Cyril and his loyal support of Nestorius prior to 451 continued to render him suspect, for in 553, almost a century after his death, another General Council, held at Constantinople under the auspices of the emperor Justinian, condemned his writings against Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus of 431.

The *Eranistes,* the primary extant witness of Theodoret's Christology, appeared at a critical juncture in his life and in the life of the Church, and history shows that it was deeply involved in the cycles of success and failure that he experienced in the latter part of his life and even after his death.

18. Theodoret offers what purports to be a quotation from the decree in his *Letter* 80 (Azéma, 2, 188–89). His confinement to Cyrus is mentioned in a letter from the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III (*ACO,* 2.1.1, p. 69.1–6).

19. This gathering was later dubbed the Robber Council.

4. Heretics and Heresies in the *Eranistes*

The *Eranistes,* as noted, is not simply a dogmatic treatise, for Theodoret obviously wrote it, both to combat heresy and heretics, and to proclaim and defend his own Christological teaching. The identification of his opponents and their teachings is, therefore, a prerequisite to any study of his Christology. Theodoret's fiercely negative stand against heresy places him in a long tradition that includes Irenaeus, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Cyril. Twenty-first century opinion often views this type of activity as the product of an obsession rooted in such non-theological elements as politics (secular or religious), ignorance, intolerance, prejudice, hatred of women, and the desire to preserve one's own power or status. Although such factors could have played a role in some of the assaults on heresy and heretics in the history of the Church, closer analysis reveals an important religious component, present at least in the early Church, that is often overlooked.

The faith of the post-biblical Church was based on the revelation of sacred Scripture handed down by Christ's apostles and the teachers who followed them; the main constituent of this faith, which made it specifically Christian, was the person of Jesus viewed as the Word of God incarnate, the Christ, the savior of humankind. In the second century the Church's faith was generally expressed in straightforward acceptance and consequent action, without further analysis. In succeeding centuries, however, Christians attempted to understand their faith and to explain Christian life and teaching through the power of reason by employing the philosophical methods that many had learned; this proved to be especially significant when crucial elements of the faith, such as the divinity of the savior, were in question. But throughout this whole period faith, not reason, was the driving-force of Christianity. Since the goal of Christian teaching and life was, in the most basic terms, salvation, or union with God through faith in Jesus Christ, it was believed that if the object of faith was not the true Jesus Christ, then salvation was impossible and all was hopelessly lost. Anyone whose

teaching was judged to be untrue, therefore, was reckoned a heretic, an enemy of humanity, who deserved condemnation. Right or wrong, this attitude had a powerful influence for centuries, and it explains, although it does not justify, why church leaders reacted so strongly against heresy and heretics. For them this was ultimately a question of spiritual life or death. And the *Eranistes* is in this tradition.

Although Theodoret names no heretics later than the fourth century, his polemic can be used to identify his contemporary adversaries. In the prologue of the *Eranistes* he says that his opponents "produce their own complex and polymorphous doctrine by collecting the wicked teachings of many evil men."[20] He then cites specific instances:

1. "The assertion that Christ the Lord is only God comes from Simon, Cerdon, Marcion, and the other members of this foul group."

2. "Confessing the virgin birth, while saying that it was only a transitory passage and that God the Word took nothing from the virgin, was stolen from the absurd stories of Valentinus, Bardesanes, and their followers."

3. "The designation of the divinity and the humanity of Christ the Lord as one nature they pilfered from the ravings of Apollinarius."

4. "And they robbed from the blasphemy of Arius and Eunomius the attribution of the passion to the divinity of Christ the Lord."[21]

Because of their heretical ancestry Theodoret, therefore, concludes that his adversaries reject or mutilate the divinity and/or the humanity of Christ. Key issues are immutability and impassibility, qualities that directly refer only to the divinity, but that Theodoret also links to the humanity. Arius and Eunomius are traditionally accused of rejecting the full divinity of the divine Word; it is presumably for this reason that Theodoret says

20. For this quotation and the entire section that follows see below, p. 28.

21. The *Eranistes* mentions many heretics by name, but it cites Apollinarius more often than any other; Arius and Eunomius come next, followed by Valentinus and Marcion.

they attributed the passion to the divinity of Christ and thereby destroyed his immutability and impassibility. Those named in the first two groups are Gnostics, who usually attributed some type of divinity to Christ, but in general tended to reject his humanity. Apollinarius is more problematic, for Theodoret considers the presence of his ideas especially damning, since he understood what was at stake and accepted both the divinity and the humanity, which he rightly sought to unite in one person. According to Theodoret, however, Apollinarius failed in this project because he said that the unity of divinity and humanity resulted in one nature, a teaching that impaired the divinity and the humanity; a troubling corollary of this theory for Theodoret lies in the fact that it pointed toward the monophysite language attributed to Theodoret's contemporary Eutyches.

In 431 the supporters of Nestorius, including Theodoret, probably felt that Cyril's teaching was contaminated by Apollinarianism.[22] These suspicions were not put aside lightly, and, despite the agreement of 433, the theological conflict that developed after the appointment of Dioscorus and the rise of Eutyches shows that the ghost of Apollinarius had never left the scene; one must, then, choose Theodoret's primary adversary in 447 from among Apollinarius, Cyril, Dioscorus, or Eutyches.

The patristic anthologies in the *Eranistes* suggest that Theodoret's attitude toward Cyril in 447 was not overwhelmingly negative, for he says that he quotes authors who "proclaim the apostolic teaching"[23] to prove that his own teaching is in harmony with orthodox Christian tradition. Although Theodoret had disapproved of Cyril in the past, he nonetheless includes him among the teachers of orthodoxy without comment or qualification.

The significance of Theodoret's selection of Cyril can be shown through an analysis of his treatment of Apollinarius. At

22. For a discussion of this problem, see Henry Chadwick, "Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy," *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s. 2 (1951): 145–64. and Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon,* pp. 258–63.

23. See below, p. 66.

the start of the first anthology he says that he would have quoted Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, if he had not been aware that Eranistes was "badly disposed toward them and shared Apollinarius's hatred for them."[24] While many of Theodoret's contemporaries would also have objected to Diodore and Theodore, the fact that he cites Apollinarius by name shows how seriously he takes him, not as a direct opponent in the *Eranistes,* but as an enemy of his theological antecedents and the chief source of the heresy he is combating.

At the end of the first anthology Orthodox tells Eranistes that he is going to quote Apollinarius, "one of the fathers" of Eranistes's heresy, to "show that he understood the text, 'The Word became flesh'[25] in the same way as the holy fathers";[26] in the second anthology he explains that he is citing Apollinarius, "so that you may know that even he says that the union was without mixture";[27] in the third anthology Theodoret speaks of the "ancient heresiarchs" and then says, "listen again to the writings of Apollinarius, which proclaim that the divine nature is impassible and confess that the suffering pertains to the body."[28] Although Theodoret never relents in his hostility to Apollinarius, he is willing to grant that *even*[29] such a person may on occasion teach something that can be used to prove the truth of the orthodox position. By comparing this approach with his positive attitude toward Cyril, one may safely conclude that the latter is not Theodoret's contemporary opponent in the *Eranistes.*

Since Apollinarius, whom Theodoret all but accuses of a type of Monophysitism, seems to be the major source of the teaching he opposes, his immediate adversary must be either Dioscorus or Eutyches. Eutyches became in time the symbolic figurehead of Monophysitism, but he was not a major ecclesiastical or political force in 447; it is more likely, then, that Theodoret's attention at that time was focused on Dioscorus, the relatively new bishop of Alexandria, who supported Eutyches. In letters written

24. See below, p. 66.
25. Jn 1.14a.
26. See below, p. 86.
27. See below, p. 172.
28. See below, p. 245.
29. My emphasis.

during the period of his house arrest (448–50/51) and condemnation by the council of 449, Theodoret clearly refers to Dioscorus when complaining about problems caused by ecclesiastical authority; at the same time he writes a letter to Dioscorus himself, to defend, in a pitiful and supplicatory tone, the orthodoxy of his own teaching.[30] He evidently considers Dioscorus to be the source of his problems and therefore the only one who can help him. Further confirmation that Dioscorus was the object of Theodoret's criticism may be implied from the willingness of the Council of Chalcedon to reinstate Theodoret. Dioscorus was deposed by that council, so opposition to him could have earned good will for Theodoret, whereas an attack on Cyril would surely have aroused further animosity against him.

Since Theodoret was opposed theologically to the Apollinarian tendency of Eutyches's teaching, one may conclude that the full thrust of the condemnation expressed in the *Eranistes* was aimed at Dioscorus, the ecclesiastical leader who supported Eutyches and thereby made the existence and approval of his teaching possible.

5. Christology of the *Eranistes*

a. Theodoret and Two-Nature Christology

Theodoret has been described as the last major figure in the theological tradition of Antioch, and in the *Eranistes* he clearly advocates the two-nature Christology whose roots can be traced to Theodore of Mopsuestia. The main focus of this approach is the humanity of Christ, and scholars have often contrasted it with the tradition of Alexandria that concentrated primarily on the divinity of Christ.

There is no doubt that this classification is on the whole true with respect to the major figures who represent the two traditions. Over the years, however, it has become clear that the contrast may not be so stark as was thought, for one can identify

30. *Letter* 83 (Azéma, 2, 204–19).

both obvious differences within each group and similarities between the two. Thus John Chrysostom's Christology was radically different from that of his fellow student, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and actually resembled the early thought of Cyril of Alexandria. Athanasius and Apollinarius opposed Arius from a common theological basis, but the former emerged as the champion of orthodoxy, while the latter was condemned as a master heretic. Cyril was at times thought to be an Apollinarian, but careful analysis has shown that this was not true. Theodoret shared Theodore's basic principles, but made significant advances in thought and language and eventually came to acknowledge a positive value in at least certain aspects of Cyril's thought. At the same time, some of Theodoret's contemporaries, inspired by Cyril's teaching, developed a Christology that was condemned by many as monophysite. The preceding discussion on heresy in the *Eranistes* shows that Theodoret was concerned with protecting both the integrity of Christ's divinity, characterized by impassibility and immutability, and the reality of his humanity, rooted in his body. Theodoret, therefore, was occupied with the main points of both traditions and did not consider them mutually exclusive.[31]

Since other scholars have analyzed Theodoret's Christology in the *Eranistes,*[32] this section of the Introduction will not repeat that process, but will attempt to show how he developed his own two-nature Christology and the methodological tools that he employed. Theodoret gave each of the three dialogues a title that indicates the main point of discussion. The first (Immutable) and the third (Impassible) deal directly with the integrity of the Word's divinity, while the second (Unmixed) treats the union of the divinity and humanity in the one person of the Word incarnate.

Both Eranistes and Orthodox agree on the immutability of God, and therefore of the divine Word; the basic argument in Dialogue One revolves around the correct interpretation of

31. For an alternate view see John J. O'Keefe, "Impassible Suffering? Divine Passion and Fifth-Century Christology," *Theological Studies* 58 (1997): 39–60.

32. See especially Frances M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon,* pp. 278–84.

John 1.14ab: "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us." What do these words mean? Did the Word become flesh by changing into flesh or by some other means? Neither Eranistes nor Orthodox wish to admit a real change, but they cannot at first agree on an interpretation. Eranistes, echoing John Chrysostom of all people, says that the Word knows what it means, and that suffices; he believes the Biblical text at face value.[33] Orthodox maintains that this implies change in the Word and cites other texts to show that "become" has multiple meanings in Scripture; he fixes on the expressions "took" flesh or "dwelt in" flesh. Eranistes rejects this, but cannot offer an alternative that does not compromise divine immutability. Much of the dialogue and many of the citations in the anthology consist of exegesis of John 1.14 that Orthodox either offers or cites as agreeing with his own. Theodoret is obviously concerned here with the divinity of the Word, but he is equally determined to maintain the reality of a humanity that does not diminish the divine nature.

The second dialogue flows from the first, for if the immutable Word truly became flesh, it is imperative to clarify the nature of the union of the Word with the flesh. The Apollinarian and monophysite tendencies of Theodoret's opponents are in evidence here, for Orthodox, in keeping with the title "Unmixed," strives to show that this is a union of two real natures that come together into one, but still remain unmixed or unconfused. This issue is also at the heart of the controversy between Nestorius and Cyril, which perhaps explains why the second dialogue is the longest of the three, and why its anthology, also longer than the other two, cites Cyril and his uncle Theophilus, Cyril's predecessor as bishop of Alexandria. In Cyril's eyes Nestorian Christology did not explain the union and therefore appeared to teach two sons and to do away with the divinity of Christ. Cyril's explanation, as understood by Nestorius and his supporters, seemed to unite the natures in

33. John Chrysostom, *Homily on John's Gospel* 11.2. Unlike Eranistes, however, Chrysostom strongly denies that the text implies real change and says that the Word took flesh, dwelt in it, and became one with it through union.

such a way as to blend them together to the detriment of the humanity.[34]

In Dialogue Two Eranistes accuses Orthodox of dividing Christ into two sons by speaking of two natures;[35] after some discussion Orthodox says that Eranistes denies there are two natures, but actually affirms three natures. When Eranistes again accuses Orthodox of preaching two natures and therefore two sons, Orthodox in turn accuses him of affirming three sons.[36] This seems to perplex Eranistes, and he shifts the argument by saying that he accepts two natures before the union, but one nature afterward;[37] this is then discussed at length and refuted by Orthodox. Through Orthodox, therefore, Theodoret rejects the notion of two sons, attributed to Nestorius and to himself,[38] as well as the quasi-monophysite explanation of the union wrongly attributed to Cyril, and soon to be condemned in the person of Eutyches. Thus the discussion of the union in Dialogue Two reveals Theodoret's defense both of the integrity of the incarnate Word's divinity as well as of the reality of his humanity.

Impassibility is of course a quality of the divinity, but in Dialogue Three it is intimately linked with the humanity of the incarnate Word, since the discussion revolves around the attribution of the Passion directly to the Word of God. Eranistes defends this, but Orthodox rejects it, saying that the Passion should be predicated of the Lord, Jesus Christ, who can suffer as a human being, and whose sufferings become redemptive because he is also God. The arguments here and the distinctions that are drawn are complex and subtle, and it is some-

34. Subsequent history has shown that, even if Nestorius did not intend to teach the doctrine attributed to him, his exposition was weak, and the conclusions drawn from it were not unreasonable. Cyril, on the other hand, essentially understood the basic issues and followed the right track in seeking solutions, although he sometimes expressed himself in dangerous language.

35. See below, p. 116.

36. See below, p. 122.

37. See below, p. 122.

38. Theodoret was forced to defend himself against the charge of teaching two sons in the year after the publication of the *Eranistes* during the controversy with Dioscorus (see above, p. 5; also *Letters* 83 and 86 in Azéma, 2, 206–9 and 224–25.).

times difficult to discern whether Eranistes and Orthodox actually differ. This becomes clear, however, when Orthodox asks how Eranistes could "dare to say that God the Word himself, the creator of all, suffered the passion." Eranistes responds, "We say that he suffered in an impassible way." Orthodox rejects this statement with incredulity and ridicule, saying, "What sensible person would put up with these absurd riddles? For no one has ever heard of impassible suffering or immortal death. That which is impassible did not suffer, and that which suffered would not remain impassible."[39] The paradox uttered by Eranistes came from Cyril,[40] but it had monophysite overtones for Theodoret, and therefore, however Cyril may have intended it, Theodoret appears to see it as a sign of the Apollinarian roots of his opponents' teaching. In the context of the three dialogues, this statement, derived from the blending of the two natures, expresses the ultimate denial of the immutability and impassibility of the incarnate Word's divinity and the effective obliteration of his humanity.

Theodoret was not able at this time to free himself completely from problems concerning the unity of person in the Incarnation, the aspect of the Christological question that Cyril and even some of Theodoret's opponents may have understood better. But in the *Eranistes* he clearly rejected Nestorius and at least compromised with Cyril, and in opposing his two-nature Christology to one that he considered Apollinarian and monophysite, he attempted to preserve what he considered to be the true, orthodox teaching about Christ. Like his friends and enemies, he was ultimately unable to grasp the fullness of the mystery of the Incarnation, but his efforts in the *Eranistes* were reflected in the creed of the Council of Chalcedon, which drew from and represented the best of all the traditions.[41]

39. See below, p. 211.

40. See O'Keefe, "Impassible Suffering?" p. 57.

41. See Joseph M. Hallman, "Theodoret's *Eranistes* and its Aftermath: The Demise of the Christology of Antioch," in *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church,* Pauline Allen, Wendy Mayer and Lawrence Cross, eds. (Brisbane: Watson Ferguson & Co., 1999), vol. 2, pp. 343–57. After pointing out the weaknesses in Theodoret's position on immutability and impassibility, Hallman

b. Methodology: Role of Philosophy, Scripture, and History

The question of methodology arises because the dialogue between Eranistes and Orthodox focuses on philosophical issues: immutability, impassibility, and the kind of union that joins the two natures. Analysis of his method will show whether Theodoret approaches them as a philosopher, a systematic theologian, or, as the bulk of his publications would lead one to suspect, a historian and biblical exegete. The two latter possibilities will be considered at the end of this discussion; it is impossible to maintain that Theodoret was a systematic theologian in a meaningful sense in his own lifetime or today, but he does employ philosophical concepts, and therefore this aspect of his methodology in the *Eranistes* must be discussed.

At the beginning of the first dialogue Orthodox and Eranistes agree to conduct "a thorough examination of language about God" [θεῖα ὀνόματα],[42] and Orthodox specifies four words: "substance" (οὐσία), "subsistent entities" (ὑποστάσεις), "persons" (πρόσωπα), and "properties" (ἰδιότητες).[43] These are quasi-philosophical terms whose exact denotation cannot be determined simply through a perusal of a dictionary entry, since the context and the author's thought can radically affect their meaning. After a few polite questions and answers Orthodox asks whether they should "follow the blasphemies of Arius" or "say that there is one substance of God—the Father, the only begotten Son, and the Holy Spirit—as we were taught by divine Scripture, both old and new, and by the fathers who were gathered at Nicaea." After Eranistes agrees with the latter course of

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states that "the position of Cyril is as weak on this point as that of *Eranistes*" (p. 356). He concludes by asking what is perhaps the most pertinent question of all: ". . . [I]s some deeper revision of our understanding of the divine being necessary, one that does allow for change and suffering in some form?" (p. 357)

42. See below, pp. 30–32 for this entire discussion, unless otherwise noted.

43. In this book the same English word will always be used for the Greek word that follows it in brackets.

action, Orthodox asks whether or not "subsistent entity" has the same meaning as "substance." Eranistes does not know how to answer.

Orthodox then explains that "according to secular wisdom" there is no difference. "But according to the teaching of the fathers," he goes on, "substance differs from subsistent entity[44] as the common differs from the proper [τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον], or as the genus differs from the species or individual [τὸ γένος πρὸς τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ ἄτομον]." After a series of examples to clarify the relationship of genus, species, and individual, Orthodox concludes:

> "Just as the term 'human being' [ἄνθρωπος] is a common name of this nature [φύσις],[45] we say that in the same way the divine substance signifies the Holy Trinity, while the subsistent entity denotes a person, such as the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit. For we follow the limits set down by the holy fathers and say that subsistent entity, person, and property all signify the same thing."[46]

The "holy fathers" mentioned in these citations must be the fourth century Cappadocians—Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa—who developed a theology that said that the Trinity consisted of one (divine) substance and three subsistent entities (or persons in an analogical sense), who were distinguished by the particular property of each. Thus the meaning of these words here is rooted in fourth century Trinitarian thought.

For Orthodox, therefore, and presumably for Theodoret, at least in the *Eranistes,* "substance" means the being or reality of something, i.e., its essence, while "subsistent entity" signifies the living substance or reality in the same sense as person; "nature" appears to be the equivalent of "substance." The identification of "subsistent entity" with "person" and their distinction from

44. This cannot refer to the fathers of Nicaea who were just mentioned, for their creed equated the two terms, condemning those who say that the Son is from a "different subsistent entity or substance [than the Father]." Tanner, 1, 5.

45. At this point Theodoret introduces the word "nature," which he uses frequently in the *Eranistes* as an apparent synonym for "substance."

46. See below, p. 32.

"substance" and "nature" were not transferred immediately or easily from Cappadocian Trinitarian theology to the Christological controversies of the late fourth and early fifth century. Beginning with Apollinarius and Theodore of Mopsuestia, through Cyril and Nestorius, to Theodoret and Eutyches, the relationship of the words "subsistent entity," "person," and "nature" (rather than "substance"), as applied to the incarnate Word of God was a key issue. It was the Council of Chalcedon in 451 that stated clearly for the first time that "subsistent entity" and "person" were interchangeable with reference to Christ.

A brief overview will serve to place Theodoret's usage in context. Apollinarius represents an early stage of Christological discourse, so the philosophical implications of his thought, despite his condemnation by the first Council of Constantinople (381), were not fully understood at the time. But his emphasis on the individual unity of the Word made flesh seemed to imply that he identified "subsistent entity" with "nature." In opposition to this Theodore of Mopsuestia stressed the humanity of the incarnate Word and generally spoke of the person of the Word and the person of the human being (or man); he said that the joining of these two in the Incarnation grew ever stronger throughout Jesus' human life and resulted in full unity at his resurrection and glorification. The term "subsistent entity" did not play a significant role in Theodore's Christology, but his use of the concrete term "person" for the divine and human in Jesus left him open to charges of destroying the individual unity of the incarnate Word and splitting him into two persons.

Nestorius carried Theodore's approach to its ultimate limits and was ultimately destroyed by it. He spoke of a person of the Word, a person of the human being, and also, at times, of a person of Christ, who was the result of the joining of the first two. Whatever he may have intended to express by this, his language was dangerous, and he appeared to deny the unity of the Word with the flesh, as well as the divinity of Jesus. Cyril understood the significance of this teaching, and even though his attack on Nestorius probably had strong political implications, he was also undoubtedly moved by a desire to preserve true faith in the Word incarnate. He distinguished the divine nature and

the subsistent entity of the Word and placed the unity of the divine and human in the latter. Thus, Jesus was truly the Word who became flesh, and therefore divine; Mary, as mother of Jesus, was truly the mother of God, not of the divine nature; Jesus was truly human, and his human nature was fully united with and given existence by the subsistent entity of the Word. So Cyril could speak of one subsistent entity of the Word of God made flesh; in this formula he sometimes replaced "subsistent entity" with "nature" because he mistakenly thought that this Apollinarian language came from Athanasius.[47]

Theodoret, as already noted, supported Nestorius against Cyril; he may well have believed that Cyril was Apollinarian, but his defense of Nestorius also stemmed from the fact that they were both schooled in the same tradition that went back to Theodore. Theodoret, however, made a major advance beyond both Theodore and Nestorius, in that he avoided the concrete term "person" and employed either the abstract terms "divinity" and "humanity," or "divine nature" and "human nature," when speaking of the divine and human reality of the incarnate Word.[48] This enabled him to avoid the obvious pitfalls in the teaching of his predecessors and eventually to develop a kind of compromise with his former opponents.

Theodoret, therefore, employs terms such as "nature," "person," and "subsistent entity" as a convenient means of expressing the conclusions he draws from his analysis and interpretation of Scripture, not to produce a philosophical or systematic construct. His treatment of "subsistent entity" is a good example of the secondary role philosophical terms play in the *Eranistes*. He generally uses "subsistent entity" as he does in Dialogue Two, where Orthodox speaks about the teachings of Arius and Sabellius, which, he says, contradict one another, "since the former divides the substances, while the latter blends the subsistent entities. Arius introduces three substances, while

47. See above, p. 4 n. 16.

48. This is certainly true in the Eranistes; for the development of his thought see Marcel Richard, "Notes sur l'évolution doctrinale de Théodoret," *OM* 2, #46.

Sabellius speaks of one subsistent entity instead of three."[49] With one major exception, to be discussed next, "subsistent entity" always appears in the context of Trinitarian theology and is equated with "person."

In Dialogue Three Orthodox uses Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac as a type prefiguring the sacrifice of Christ, and he considers Isaac and the ram types of the two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, respectively. In support of his two-nature Christology and to avoid attributing the passion to the divinity of the Word, Theodoret says to Eranistes, "If this is a type of the reality, and the only begotten one was not sacrificed in the type, but instead a ram was provided, presented at the altar, and fulfilled the mystery of the sacred rite, then in this case why don't you attribute the passion to the flesh and proclaim the impassibility of the divinity?"[50] He then goes on to show how in this typology the types (Isaac and the ram) do not fit the archetype or reality (Christ) exactly:

> "I have often said that the image cannot have everything that the original has. And one can easily learn this here. For Isaac and the ram fit the image in accordance with the diversity of the natures; but in accordance with the distinction of the separated subsistent entities they no longer fit. For we preach such a union of divinity and humanity that we apprehend one undivided person and know that the same one is both God and a human being, visible and invisible, limited and infinite; and everything else that reveals the divinity and the humanity we attribute to the one person."[51]

The last phrase appears to be a legitimate application of the *communicatio idiomatum,* a procedure that is usually a problem for Orthodox, because he seems to think it implies that the union of the two natures is a mixture. Orthodox maintains that Isaac and the ram are images of Christ insofar as they are of two different natures, as is Christ. But Isaac and the ram are not perfect images of Christ because they are two distinct and separate subsistent entities, unlike the divinity and humanity of

49. See below, pp. 93–94.
50. See below, p. 200.
51. Ibid.

Christ. The divinity and humanity of Christ are, for Orthodox, therefore, two distinct natures that are so united as to reveal one person, Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh. Thus, like Isaac, Christ is a subsistent entity but, unlike Isaac, he has two natures. Theodoret does not actually predicate "subsistent entity" of Christ, but since for him it means the same as "person," he prefers the latter word to describe the one individual who is known and who reveals the union of the two natures.

"Subsistent entity," therefore, does not play a major role in Theodoret's Christology, but its use in this passage indicates that he does not divide Jesus Christ into two sons. Since the term "subsistent entity" can be helpful, therefore, one may legitimately ask why Theodoret almost always uses the word "person" instead. The original sense of the Greek word for person was "mask," i.e., the mask worn by actors in classical Greek tragedy and comedy; this mask provided clues to the nature of the character in the play. As the sense of the word developed into that of "person," it maintained its connection with face and facial characteristics as revealing the inner being of the individual wearing the mask. The tradition that flowed from Theodore to Theodoret preserved a serious concern for the humanity of the incarnate Word. Since the divinity of the Word, as God, was not seen, it was, for them, the human individual Jesus of Nazareth who revealed the Word and the Incarnation. This may explain why Theodore, Nestorius, and Theodoret preferred to use "person," with its phenomenological overtones, rather than the philosophical and abstract "subsistent entity." Their desire was not to destroy the unity of person, but to penetrate and to understand the mystery of that unity through the visible person who revealed it.

In the passage just analyzed Theodoret's use of "subsistent entity" resembles Cyril's "one subsistent entity of the divine Word made flesh"; but it is an isolated usage and expresses the results of scriptural exegesis and typology rather than philosophical analysis. This is typical of Theodoret's attitude toward philosophical issues and concepts, and it indicates that he cannot be taken too seriously as a philosopher. This does not mean that Theodoret was not intelligent and a scholar; on the con-

trary, his extant writings, most of which deal with history or scriptural commentary, are the works of a highly competent historian and exegete. Theodoret knew how to research and to use earlier sources, and he produced original works in both of these areas.[52] In the *Eranistes* the patristic anthologies and the extensive use of Scripture for argumentation are witnesses to Theodoret's ability in these areas. In the final analysis, then, his methodology derives from his skill, not as a philosopher, but as an exegete and a historian.

c. Typology

An important element of Theodoret's exegesis of Scripture is typology, and a brief discussion of the Greek terms and their translations should simplify the understanding of its usage in the dialogues. The Greek words will always be translated as indicated here when they appear in the context of typology. The key word is "type" (τύπος),[53] which is a person or thing that represents, or refers to the original (ἀρχέτυπος) or the reality (ἀλήθεια); "image" (εἴκων) is generally used as a synonym for "type." Chronologically, the type usually exists prior to the original in real time; for example, in Dialogue Two Moses, as a mediator, is a type of Christ, who is the reality or the original. Theodoret stresses that the type does not have to be identical with the original in every characteristic (χαρακτήρ) or shape (εἶδος); thus imperial images are truly images of the emperor, even though the emperor is alive and they are not, and Moses can be a type or image of Christ, even though Christ was divine, but Moses was not.

52. For confirmation of Theodoret's competence in history and Scripture, see Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* pp. 23–30 and Jean Guinot, *L'Exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (Editions Beauchesne: Paris, 1995), passim.

53. The word "type" also appears in this book outside the context of typology; in such cases it does not refer to τύπος, but simply indicates that its referent belongs to a certain class or group.

6. Aspects of the Translation

The last previous translation of the *Eranistes* into English was published in 1892, according to the translator's preface, under the title *Dialogues* in the series called *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.*[54] That version was based on the Greek text in PG 83.27–336, which, like many of Migne's texts, was drawn from a minimum number of original manuscripts and printed with more than a few errors. This book offers a translation of the critical edition of the Greek text found in Ettlinger, *Eranistes.* Numbers in square brackets in the translation indicate the page numbers in this critical edition. It should be noted that the Greek text translated here is not in the original form left by Theodoret, since selections from Pope Leo's *Tome* were inserted into the anthology appended to the second dialogue sometime after the council of Chalcedon (451) by an unknown editor or scribe.[55] Notes in the anthologies clearly identify the items taken from the *Tome.*

Since the body of the *Eranistes* consists of dialogues, the translation employs certain elements of colloquial English to reflect that literary form and present a fluid, unstilted conversation: Thus contractions, such as "don't," are often used in conversation, and questions will often be answered in a phrase without a finite verb, e.g., Question: How can you do this? Answer: By doing that. In narrative texts that interrupt the conversation and in the anthologies colloquialisms have been avoided.

Theodoret's Greek text of the New Testament does not always agree with that of modern critical editions; for the Hebrew Bible he used the Septuagint (LXX) version, which frequently differs from the original Hebrew. Furthermore, he sometimes adapts the original text to bolster his argument. For the English translation, therefore, the NRSV text found in the *OAB* has

54. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (1892; reprinted, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995), 2d series, vol. 3, pp. 160–249.

55. See Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* pp. 26–30 for a reference to the edition of the *Tome* and an analysis of the insertion.

been used as a standard of comparison, although many of Theodoret's citations have been translated anew from his Greek version. Scripture texts are located by citing chapter and verse of the *OAB;* where a LXX text differs from that in the *OAB,* the *OAB* enumeration will be cited, followed by the LXX reference (marked LXX) in parentheses.

Acknowledgements

It has taken many years to bring this translation to the light of day, and I wish to express my gratitude to St. John's University and especially to the Rev. David M. O'Connell, C.M., who, as Dean of St. John's College, appointed me to the Rev. John A. Flynn Chair in Theology, an honor that gave me the time to complete my work. The support I received from my faculty colleagues, the staff, and the administration at St. John's were a major factor in my success.

I also wish to thank the administration of The Catholic University of America Press and the editors of the Fathers of the Church series for their patience with me over the years, when it seemed as though this work might never end. Special gratitude is due to Staff Editor Joel Kalvesmaki, whose painstaking and careful editing of my manuscript is responsible for the excellent condition of the final product. I take full responsibility for any errors that may still remain.

I am especially grateful to Nigel G. Wilson. Without his dedicated guidance and labor the Greek text would never have been completed; he has remained a good friend and colleague, and has never hesitated to answer a question or offer a suggestion—always wisely and to the point.

I also wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the Revd. Dr. Sir Henry Chadwick, who brought my Greek text to the attention of The Clarendon Press and who offered me encouragement during my years at Oxford and ever since.

ERANISTES OR THE POLYMORPH

BY THE BLESSED THEODORET, BISHOP OF CYRUS

PROLOGUE

THERE ARE PEOPLE who do not achieve fame or glory through their ancestry, education, or personal success, and therefore strive to become well known by doing evil. Alexander the coppersmith, for example, was a man of no distinction, from a family that was not illustrious; he was not a skilled orator, politician, military leader, or courageous warrior. He did nothing but practice his common trade; he only became famous because of his rage against the most divine Paul.[1] Then there was Shimei, an absolutely insignificant and coarse man, who gained the greatest renown through his arrogant behavior toward the divinely inspired David.[2] The founder of the Manichaean heresy was reputedly a mere slave who devised that abominable cult because he longed for glory.[3]

And even today certain people act like this; because of the effort involved they shunned the praise and glory that comes from virtue and procured for themselves the most disgusting and shameful notoriety. In their eagerness to champion new teachings they collected[4] the evil from many heresies and composed this destructive heresy of theirs.[5] But I shall try to have a brief discussion with them, in order to cure them and to show concern for those who are healthy.[6]

1. 2 Tm 4.14.

2. 2 Sm 16.5–8.

3. Theodoret calls him Manes in *HFC* 1.26 (PG 83.377–82).

4. Here Theodoret begins a play on words, reflected in the title of the work and based on the eponymous character in the dialogue and the manner in which the heretics developed their teaching. See Introduction, pp. 2–3.

5. Theodoret never actually names the heresy or its teachers. See Introduction, p. 7.

6. Theodoret frequently employs images of health, sickness, and cure, especially when speaking of orthodox and heretical teaching. See also his treatise on the healing of pagan diseases (*Therapeutique*, passim).

The title of my book is *Eranistes or the Polymorph,*[7] because they produce their own complex and polymorphous doctrine by collecting the wicked teachings of many evil men. The assertion that Christ the Lord is only God comes from Simon,[8] Cerdon, Marcion,[9] and the other members of this foul group. Confessing the virgin birth while saying that it was only a transitory passage and that God the Word took nothing from the virgin was stolen from the absurd stories of Valentinus,[10] Bardesanes,[11] and their followers. [62][12] The designation of the divinity and the humanity of Christ the Lord as one nature they pilfered from the ravings of Apollinarius.[13] And they robbed from the blasphemy of Arius[14] and Eunomius[15] the attribution of the passion to the divinity of Christ the Lord.[16] As a result, this heresy resembles clothing crudely stitched together by beggars from scraps of cloth; that is why I call this book *Eranistes or the Polymorph.*

The discussion itself will proceed in the form of a dialogue, with questions, answers, problems, solutions, objections, and all the other characteristics of the dialogue form. But I shall not insert the names of the questioners and respondents in the body of the text, as the ancient Greek philosophers did; I shall

7. For a discussion of the meaning and significance of these words see Introduction, pp. 2–3.

8. Simon is the Simon Magus of *HFC* 1.1 (PG 83.341–46).

9. Cerdon and Marcion are discussed together in *HFC* 1.24 (PG 83.371–76).

10. *HFC* 1.7 (PG 83.353–58).

11. *HFC* 1.22 (PG 83.371–72).

12. Numbers in square brackets in the translation indicate the page numbers in the critical edition, Ettlinger, *Eranistes.*

13. *HFC* 4.8 (PG 83.425–28).

14. *HFC* 4.1 (PG 83.411–16).

15. *HFC* 4.3 (PG 83.417–22).

16. *HFC* is a history of heresy that Theodoret composed some years after the *Eranistes.* It consists of four "books that classify heretics and heresies, and a fifth that offers a summary of true Christian doctrine." Theodoret here refers to heretics named in books 1–2 and 4, but the teachings he ascribes to them do not always agree with those mentioned in *HFC.* Both works start with Simon (Magus) and Manes, but *HFC* ends with Nestorius (a possibly spurious chapter) and Eutyches, neither of whom is named in the *Eranistes,* which ends with Apollinarius, Arius, and Eunomius. A more detailed analysis and comparison of the two works will be possible when a critical edition of *HFC* becomes available.

write them instead in the margin, at the beginning of each new segment of conversation. I am doing this because, unlike the Greeks who offered their books to a well-educated audience for whom life consisted in discussion, I want this work to be easily intelligible and profitable for readers unacquainted with verbal disputation. And this will be the case if the identity of the persons[17] speaking is clear because their names are written in the margin. "Orthodox" is the name of the one who defends apostolic teachings, while the other is called "Eranistes." We usually call someone who is sustained by many people's pity a beggar, and one who is versed in business a businessman; in the same way here we have made up a name for this character derived from a way of acting. And I ask readers to judge the truth without preconceptions.

Out of concern for clarity we have divided the book into three dialogues. The first will contend that the divinity of the only begotten Son is immutable. The second will show, with God's help, that the union[18] of Christ the Lord's divinity and humanity involved no mixture. The third dialogue will fight for the impassibility of our savior's divinity. After the three dialectical contests we shall add, to further the controversy, certain other statements, and we shall adapt the argumentation to each main topic and shall show clearly that we preserve the preaching of the apostles.

17. The Greek word πρόσωπον, which here refers to literary creations, will be translated throughout this edition as "person."

18. The Greek word ἕνωσις will be translated throughout as "union"; the word συνάφεια will be translated as "a joining (together)."

IMMUTABLE
DIALOGUE ONE

ORTHODOX. It would have been better for us to agree and preserve the apostolic teaching in its integrity. But since you have for some reason destroyed harmony and are now offering us worthless doctrines, let us please search for the truth together without quarreling.

Eranistes. We do not need a search, for we clearly possess the truth.

Orthodox. Every heretic has assumed this. Why, even the Jews and the Greeks think that they are defending doctrines of truth, and this includes, not only the devotees of Plato and Pythagoras, but also the followers of Epicurus, outright atheists, and agnostics. We should not, however, be slaves of preconception, but should rather seek true knowledge.

Eranistes. I yield to your recommendation and accept your proposal.

Orthodox. In that case, since you willingly accepted my first request, I also beg you not to entrust the search for truth to human arguments, but to look instead for the tracks of the apostles, the prophets, and the holy people who followed them. For this is what travelers like to do when they go off the main road; they examine the paths carefully and look for footprints that show the comings and goings of people, horses, donkeys, or mules. And when they find some, they track them, like dogs, and do not stop until they recover the right road.

Eranistes. Let's do this. You lead the way, therefore, since you started the discussion.

Orthodox. Let us begin, then, with a thorough examination of terms about God, namely, substance, subsistent entities, persons, and properties; let us get to know them and distinguish them from one another, and then let us continue from there.

Eranistes. You have provided our dialogue with a most eloquent and indispensable introduction. For when these matters have been clarified, the discussion will proceed more smoothly.

Orthodox. Well then, since we agree and have decided upon this procedure, answer this question, [64] my friend. Do we say that there is one substance of God—the Father, the only begotten Son, and the all-Holy Spirit—as we were taught by divine Scripture, both old and new, and by the fathers who were gathered at Nicaea, or do we follow the blasphemies of Arius?

Eranistes. We confess one substance of the Holy Trinity.

Orthodox. Do we think that subsistent entity means something other than substance, or do we consider it a synonym for substance?

Eranistes. Does substance somehow differ from subsistent entity?

Orthodox. Not according to secular wisdom, where substance means "that which is," while subsistent entity means "that which exists." But according to the teaching of the fathers, substance differs from subsistent entity as the common differs from the proper, or as the genus differs from the species or the individual.

Eranistes. Clarify genus, species, and individual.

Orthodox. We call "living being"[1] a genus, since it points to many things under the same aspect; for it refers to both the rational and the irrational. There are in turn many species of irrational things, such as winged, amphibious, land, and water animals. And each of these species has many subdivisions; among those that go on land are the lion, the leopard, the bull, and countless others. There are also many species of both the winged type and the others; but nevertheless they all belong to the genus of "living being" and their species are the ones just named.

In the same way the name "human being"[2] is a name common to this nature, for it refers to the Roman, the Athenian, the Persian, the Sauromatian, the Egyptian, and, in brief, all who share this nature. The name Paul or Peter, however, no

1. Τὸ ζῷον.
2. Τὸ ἄνθρωπος.

longer signifies what is common to the nature, but rather the individual human being. For no one who heard the name Paul would wander off in thought to Adam, Abraham, or Jacob, but would think only of this person whose personal name he heard. When we simply hear "human being," however, we do not direct our thought to the individual, but understand rather the Indian, the Scythian, the Massagete, and the whole human race[3] in general.

And we learn this not only from nature, but from divine [65] Scripture as well; for it says, "God said, 'I shall wipe out from the face of the earth the human being whom I have formed.'"[4] God said this concerning countless multitudes, since it was more than 2200 years after Adam that God totally destroyed human beings through the flood.[5] And blessed David speaks in the same way: "A human being who is honored has not understood";[6] he is not accusing one individual or another, but all human beings in general. We could find many other examples, but we must not speak too long.

Eranistes. The difference between the common and the proper has been clearly defined. But let us return to the discussion of substance and subsistent entity.

Orthodox. Well, just as the term "human being" is a common name of this nature, we say in the same way that the divine substance signifies the Holy Trinity, while the subsistent entity denotes a person, such as the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit. For we follow the limits set down by the holy fathers and say that subsistent entity, person, and property all signify the same thing.[7]

3. The word "race" here translates γένος, which Theodoret used above in the sense of a genus as opposed to a species. This paragraph shows, however, that he does not mean to say that "human being" is a genus and nationalities are species; the meaning of γένος varies according to context, so that "human race" actually refers to the human race as a species of "living being."

4. Gn 6.7.

5. See Gn 5–7.

6. See Ps 49.20 (LXX 48.21). Theodoret normally quotes the Old Testament according to the Greek Septuagint text (= LXX), which often differs significantly from the Hebrew; in citations where they differ, references to both texts will be clearly indicated.

7. See Introduction, p. 16.

Eranistes. We agree that this is true.[8]

Orthodox. So terms that are predicated of the divine nature, such as "God," "Lord," "creator," "ruler of all," and others like them, are therefore common to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

Eranistes. They are certainly common to the Trinity.

Orthodox. Words that denote the subsistent entities, however, are no longer common to the Holy Trinity, but belong only to that subsistent entity whose properties they are. For example, the words "Father" and "unbegotten" are proper to the Father, and the terms "Son," "only begotten," and "God the Word" do not refer to the Father or the Holy Spirit, but to the Son. And "Holy Spirit" and "Paraclete" denote the subsistent entity of the Spirit.

Eranistes. But doesn't divine Scripture call both the Father and the Son spirit?[9]

Orthodox. It called the Father and the Son spirit in order to show that the divine nature is incorporeal [66] and unlimited; but it calls only the subsistent entity of the Spirit Holy Spirit.

Eranistes. This too is beyond question.

Orthodox. Since we say, then, that certain qualities are common to the Holy Trinity, while others are proper to each subsistent entity, do we say that the term "immutability" is common to the substance, or proper to a certain subsistent entity?

Eranistes. The term "immutable" is common to the Trinity, because it is impossible for one part of the substance to be mutable, while another part is immutable.

Orthodox. Well said. For just as mortality is common to human beings, so immutability and unchangeability are common to the Holy Trinity. The only begotten Son is, therefore, immutable, as are the Father who begot him, and the Holy Spirit.

Eranistes. The Son is immutable.

Orthodox. Then why do you attribute change to the im-

8. If these dialogues are directed against Cyril, his followers, Eutyches, or actual monophysites, it is strange that Eranistes agrees that ὑπόστασις means the same as πρόσωπον.

9. See Jn 4.24 and 2 Cor 3.17.

mutable nature by introducing that Gospel text, "The Word became flesh"?[10]

Eranistes. We say that the Word became flesh, not by changing, but in a manner he himself knows.

Orthodox. If you say that the Word became flesh but did not assume[11] flesh, then you must choose one of two conclusions: Either the Word underwent a change into flesh, or was seen this way in appearance, but in actual reality was God without flesh.[12]

Eranistes. This is the opinion of the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and the Manichaeans. We were taught clearly that God the Word was made flesh.[13]

Orthodox. How do you understand "was made flesh"? The assumption of flesh or a change into flesh?

Eranistes. It means what we heard from the evangelist, who says, "The Word became flesh."[14]

Orthodox. How do you understand this word "became"? Do you mean that the Word became flesh by undergoing a change into flesh?

[67] *Eranistes.* I already said that he knows, and we know that all things are possible for him.[15] For he changed the Nile's water into blood and day into night, presented the sea as dry land, and filled the arid desert with water.[16] And we also hear the prophet say, "All that the Lord wished, he did, in heaven and on earth."[17]

10. Jn 1.14a.

11. Theologians in the Antiochene Christological tradition to which Theodoret belonged often used "assume" (λαμβάνω or one of its compounds, also rendered "take" in this translation) to express the relationship between the divine Word and his human reality. Theodoret speaks of the assumption of flesh, but does not employ the more problematic phrase "the assumption of a human being," which was used by, e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia.

12. Theodoret knew that no Christian would say that the Word actually changed into flesh. The alternative that he leaves his opponents, if they reject his language about the Word's assuming flesh, is pure docetism.

13. "Was made flesh" translates the verb σαρκόω, which basically means the same as ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο in Jn 1.14; in a polemical context, however, Theodoret says that it implies a change into flesh.

14. Jn 1.14a.

15. See Mt 19.26 and Mk 10.27.

16. See Ex 7.20–24; 10.21–23; 14.21–22; 17.1–7.

17. Ps 135.6 (LXX 134.6).

Orthodox. The creator transforms creation as he wishes, because creation is mutable and obeys the commands of the creator. But the creator has an immutable and unchangeable nature. That is why the prophet says about creation, "The one who makes all things and transforms them."[18] And mighty David says about God the Word, "You are the same, and your years will not fail."[19] And it was God who says about himself, "I am and I have not been changed."[20]

Eranistes. It is wrong to investigate things that have been concealed.

Orthodox. And [it is also wrong][21] to be totally ignorant of things that have been revealed.

Eranistes. I do not know how the Incarnation[22] took place; but I did hear that "The Word became flesh."[23]

Orthodox. If the Word became flesh by changing, he did not remain what he was before. And it is easy to learn this from many examples. When a certain type of sand comes into contact with fire, it first liquefies and then is hardened into glass; and it alters its name with the change, since it is no longer called sand, but glass.

Eranistes. That is true.

Orthodox. And we call the fruit of the vine a grape; but when we press it out, we call it wine, not a grape.

Eranistes. Correct.

Orthodox. And when the wine has turned sour, we usually call it vinegar, not wine.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. And when we have refined and dissolved stone, we no longer call it stone, but lime or gypsum. We could find thousands of things like these, which alter their names when they change.

[68] *Eranistes.* I agree.

18. Am 5.8 (LXX). 19. Ps 102.27 (LXX 101.28).

20. Mal 3.6.

21. In the translation square brackets will be used to enclose text that is not in the Greek, but is needed to complete the sense.

22. Σάρκωσις.

23. Jn 1.14a.

Orthodox. If you say, then, that God the Word underwent a change into flesh, please tell me why you call [the Word] God, but not flesh? For the change of name is in harmony with the modification of the nature. If things that have undergone a change have some relationship with their previous state—for vinegar is somehow close to wine, as is wine to the fruit of the vine, and glass to sand—then they share in the other name after the change. But when the difference is infinite and as great as that between a gnat and all visible and invisible creation—for the difference between flesh and divinity is so great, and in fact even much greater than that—how can the former name remain after the change?

Eranistes. I have often said that the Word did not become flesh by undergoing a change, but that, remaining what it was, became what it was not.

Orthodox. But if this word "became" is not clarified, it suggests change and alteration. For if the Word became flesh, but did not take flesh, then he became flesh by undergoing a change.

Eranistes. This word "take" is your invention, for the evangelist says, "The Word became flesh."[24]

Orthodox. It seems you are either ignorant of divine Scripture, or familiar with it, but malicious. So I shall teach you, if you are ignorant, or refute you, if you are malicious. Answer this, therefore. Do you admit that the divine Paul's teaching is spiritual?

Eranistes. Of course.

Orthodox. And do you say that the same Spirit worked through the evangelists and through the apostles?

Eranistes. I do. For I was taught this by the Apostle's words; for he says, "There are different gifts, but the same Spirit,"[25] and, "One and the same Spirit works all these things, dispensing individually to each one as [the Spirit] wishes."[26] He also says, "Having the same Spirit of faith."[27]

Orthodox. You introduced the apostolic testimony at the per-

24. Ibid.
25. 1 Cor 12.4.
26. 1 Cor 12.11.
27. 2 Cor 4.13.

fect moment. If [69] we say, therefore, that the teachings of the evangelists and of the apostles come from the same Spirit, listen to the Apostle as he interprets the Gospel passage. For in his letter to the Hebrews he says, "For surely he does not take hold of the angels, but takes hold of the seed of Abraham."[28] He did not say, he became the seed of Abraham, but "he takes hold of the seed of Abraham." Tell me, then, what do you understand by the seed of Abraham?

Eranistes. It obviously refers to Abraham's nature.

Orthodox. Did the seed of Abraham, then, also have everything that Abraham had by nature?

Eranistes. It did not have everything, for Christ did not sin.

Orthodox. Sin does not flow from nature, but from evil free will. That is why I did not simply say, "what Abraham had," but rather, "what he had by nature," namely, a body and a rational soul. Tell me clearly, therefore, if you admit that the seed of Abraham is both a body and a rational soul. If you do not, then you agree in this matter with the babblings of Apollinarius. But I am going to force you to admit this in another way. Tell me, then, do the Jews have a body and a rational soul?

Eranistes. Of course they do.

Orthodox. Then when we hear the prophet say, "You, Israel my child, Jacob whom I have chosen, seed of Abraham, whom I have loved,"[29] we don't think, do we, that the Jews are only flesh and not complete human beings composed of bodies and rational souls?

Eranistes. That's true.

Orthodox. And [don't we think] that the seed of Abraham is not without a soul and not without a mind, but that it possesses everything that belongs to Abraham's nature?

Eranistes. Whoever says this advocates two sons.

Orthodox. And whoever says that God the Word underwent a

28. Heb 2.16. The NRSV translates the verb ἐπιλαμβάνεται as "came to help," which better expresses the theological sense of the text. The translation given here (which is the basic meaning of the verb) expresses the sense Theodoret seeks, because he is trying to show that the Word took hold of, or assumed, the flesh.

29. Is 41.8.

change into flesh does not even maintain one son, for flesh in and by itself is not a son. But we confess one Son, who, according to the divine Apostle,[30] took hold of the seed of Abraham and brought about the salvation of human beings. If you are not satisfied with the apostolic teaching, admit it openly.

[70] *Eranistes.* We say that the apostles made conflicting statements; for "The Word became flesh" somehow seems to contradict "He took hold of the seed of Abraham."[31]

Orthodox. Harmonious statements seem contradictory to you, because either you lack understanding or you enjoy useless controversy. For those who argue thoughtfully see no conflict here, because the divine Apostle teaches that God the Word became flesh, not by undergoing a change, but by taking hold of the seed of Abraham. At the same time he also recalls the promises made to Abraham. Or are you forgetting the promises that were made to the patriarch by the God of the universe?

Eranistes. Which promises?

Orthodox. When God led him from his ancestral home and ordered him to go to Palestine, didn't God say to him, "I shall bless those who bless you, and I shall curse those who curse you; and all the nations of the earth will be blessed in your seed"?[32]

Eranistes. I remember these promises.

Orthodox. Then remember also the covenants God made with Isaac and Jacob. For God also made the same promises to them, confirming the original ones with the second and the third.[33]

Eranistes. I remember these too.

Orthodox. The divine Apostle is interpreting these covenants when he says, in the letter to the Galatians, "The promises were spoken to Abraham and to his seed. He does not say, 'and to his seeds,' as though referring to many, but, as though referring to one, 'and to his seed,' who is Christ."[34] So he shows quite clearly that the humanity of Christ sprang from Abraham's seed and fulfilled the promise made to Abraham.

30. See Heb 2.16.
31. Jn 1.14a and Heb 2.16.
32. Gn 12.3.
33. See Gn 26.3–4 and 28.13–15.
34. Gal 3.16.

Eranistes. This is what the Apostle said.

Orthodox. And this is enough to resolve every controversy that arises over this question. But I shall remind you of still another prophecy. The patriarch Jacob gave to his son Judah alone this blessing, which had been given to him, to his father, and to his grandfather. [71] He said this: "A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he comes for whom it has been reserved, and he is the expectation of the nations."[35] Or don't you accept this prophecy as spoken about Christ the savior?

Eranistes. Jews misinterpret prophecies like this one. But I am a Christian who believes God's words and accepts the prophecies about our savior without hesitation.

Orthodox. Since you confess, therefore, that you believe the prophecies, and since you say that the preceding quotation was a prophecy about our savior, consider now the significance of the Apostle's words. For while he was revealing that the promises made to the patriarchs were fulfilled, he added these remarkable words, "For he does not take hold of angels";[36] with this he all but says, "The promise is true, the Lord has fulfilled the promises, the source of blessing has been opened to the gentiles, God the Word has taken hold of Abraham's seed, through it accomplishes the salvation promised long ago, through it confirms the expectation of the gentiles."

Eranistes. The prophecies have been put in excellent harmony with the apostolic words.

Orthodox. In this way the divine Apostle also reminds us of the blessing of Judah and shows that it too was fulfilled, when he says, "For it is clear that the Lord descended from Judah."[37] Both the prophet Micah and the evangelist Matthew did the very same thing; for the former spoke the prophecy, while the latter wrote the testimony in his narrative. And it is astounding that he said that the most obvious enemies of the truth clearly told Herod that Christ is born in Bethlehem. "For it has been written," he says, "'And you Bethlehem, land of Judah, are by

35. Gn 49.10.
36. Heb 2.16.
37. Heb 7.14.

no means least among the rulers of Judah. For from you will come a leader who will shepherd my people Israel.'"[38] But let us also add what Jews maliciously omitted by introducing incomplete testimony.[39] For after the prophet said, "For from you shall come a leader," he added, "And his goings out are from the beginning, from the days of eternity."[40]

[72] *Eranistes.* You were quite right to quote the complete testimony of the prophet, for it shows that God was born in Bethlehem.

Orthodox. Not only God, but also a human being [was born in Bethlehem]—a human being because he sprang from Judah according to the flesh and was born in Bethlehem, and God, because he exists from eternity. For the words "from you shall come a leader" refer to the birth according to the flesh, which took place in the last days; but the phrase "his goings out are from the beginning, from the days of eternity" clearly proclaims eternal existence. And so when the divine Apostle was grieving in the letter to the Romans that the former good fortune of the Jews had changed for the worse, he also recalled the divine promise and the divine law and added this: "To them belong the patriarchs, and from them comes the Christ according to the flesh, the one who is over all things, God blessed for ever and ever. Amen."[41] At one and the same time he shows that he was creator, Lord, and ruler of all as God, and that he sprang from Jews as a human being.

Eranistes. There is your interpretation of this. What would you say about the prophecy of Jeremiah,[42] for it proclaims that he is only God?

Orthodox. Which prophecy do you mean?

Eranistes. "This is our God, no other will be considered like him; he has discovered every way of knowledge and has given it

38. Mt 2.5–6; see Mi 5.2 (LXX 5.1).

39. This refers to the chief priests and scribes assembled by Herod in Mt 2.4.

40. Mi 5.2 (LXX 5.1).

41. Rom 9.5.

42. The prophecy attributed here to Jeremiah is actually from the apocryphal writing of Baruch.

to Jacob his son and to Israel his beloved. After this he was seen on the earth and lived together with human beings."[43] Here the prophet prophesied, not about flesh, or humanity, or a human being, but about God alone. So why do we need philosophical arguments?

Orthodox. Do we say that the divine nature is invisible, or don't we believe the Apostle, who says, "To the immortal, invisible, only God"?[44]

Eranistes. The divine nature is definitely invisible.

Orthodox. Then tell me how the invisible nature can be seen without a body? Or don't you remember those words of the Apostle that clearly teach that the divine nature is invisible? He says, "Whom no human being has seen or can see."[45] If it is impossible, therefore, for human beings, and I would say even for angels, to see the divine nature, tell me how the unseen and invisible one was seen on the earth.

[73] *Eranistes.* The prophet said that he was seen on the earth.[46]

Orthodox. And the Apostle said, "To the immortal, invisible, only God,"[47] and, "Whom no human being has seen or can see."[48]

Eranistes. What follows, then? Is the prophet lying?

Orthodox. Absolutely not, because both statements came from the divine Spirit. Let's investigate, therefore, [to find out] how the invisible one was seen.

Eranistes. Don't offer me human rationalizations or philosophical arguments, for I rely on divine Scripture alone.

Orthodox. You should accept no argument that is not fully supported by scriptural testimony.

Eranistes. If you could provide a resolution of the dispute from divine Scripture, I'll accept it without argument or contradiction.

Orthodox. You know that a moment ago we clarified the evangelist's statement through the Apostle's testimony, and the di-

43. Bar 3.35–37 (LXX 3.36–38).
44. 1 Tm 1.17.
45. 1 Tm 6.16b.
46. See Bar 3.37 (LXX 3.38).
47. 1 Tm 1.17.
48. 1 Tm 6.16b.

vine Apostle showed us how "the Word became flesh" when he said explicitly, "For he does not take hold of the angels, but takes hold of the seed of Abraham."[49] The same teacher, therefore, will also explain to us now how God the Word "was seen on earth and lived among human beings."[50]

Eranistes. I believe the words of both the apostles and the prophets. Interpret the prophecy, therefore, as you promised.

Orthodox. In his letter to Timothy the divine Apostle also said this: "The mystery of religion is admittedly a great one; God was made manifest in flesh, was vindicated in Spirit, was seen by angels, was proclaimed among gentiles, was believed in throughout the world, was assumed in glory."[51] It is clear, therefore, that the divine nature is invisible, but the flesh is visible, and the invisible was seen through the visible, worked miracles through it, and revealed its own power. For with his hand he caused the sense of sight and healed the man who was blind from birth.[52] In the same way he gave the power of hearing back to the deaf man and untied the tongue that had been bound, using his fingers instead of an instrument and applying spittle as a kind of medicine to drive away evil.[53] He also showed that the divinity was all-powerful by walking on the sea.[54] [74] It was, therefore, right for the Apostle to say, "who was made manifest in flesh."[55] For through the flesh the invisible nature was revealed and through the flesh companies of angels saw it. For he says, "he was seen by angels."[56] The nature of incorporeal beings, therefore, shared this gift with us.

Eranistes. Then the angels did not see God before the savior appeared?

Orthodox. The Apostle said that he was made manifest in the flesh and was seen by angels.

Eranistes. But the Lord said, "See that you do not scorn one of the least of these little ones; for I tell you truly that their angels daily see the face of your Father who is in heaven."[57]

49. Jn 1.14a and Heb 2.16.
50. Bar 3.37 (LXX 3.38).
51. 1 Tm 3.16.
52. See Jn 9.1–7.
53. See Mk 7.32–35.
54. See Mt 14.25.
55. 1 Tm 3.16.
56. Ibid.
57. Mt 18.10.

Orthodox. But the Lord also said, "Not that anyone has seen the Father, except the one who is from God; he has seen the Father."[58] That is why the evangelist cries out clearly, "No one has ever seen God";[59] and he confirms what the Lord said, for he says, "The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, has related it."[60] And the great Moses, who longed to see the invisible nature, heard the Lord God himself say, "No one will see my face and live."[61]

Eranistes. How, then, are we to understand, "Their angels daily see the face of your Father"?[62]

Orthodox. In the same way that we usually understand what is said about people who were thought to have seen God.

Eranistes. Speak more clearly, for I don't understand.

Orthodox. Can God be seen by human beings?

Eranistes. Absolutely not.

Orthodox. But nevertheless we hear divine Scripture say, "God was seen by Abraham near the oak tree at Mamre";[63] and we hear Isaiah say, "I saw the Lord sitting on a high and exalted throne."[64] [75] And Micah says this very same thing,[65] as do Daniel and Ezekiel.[66] And the narrative about Moses the lawgiver says that, "The Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as one would speak to his friend."[67] And the God of the universe himself said, "I shall speak with him face to face, clearly, and not in riddles."[68] What shall we say, then? That they saw the divine nature?

Eranistes. Absolutely not. For God himself said, "No one will see my face and live."[69]

Orthodox. Are those who said that they saw God lying, then?

Eranistes. Certainly not. They saw what they were able to see.

Orthodox. So does the Lord who loves us adapt revelations to the capability of those who see?

58. Jn 6.46.
59. Jn 1.18.
60. Ibid.
61. Ex 33.20.
62. Mt 18.10.
63. Gn 18.1.
64. Is 6.1.
65. See Mi 1.1, where the prophet says that he saw the words of the Lord.
66. Dn 10.4–8 and Ezek 1.1.
67. Ex 33.11.
68. Nm 12.8.
69. Ex 33.20.

Eranistes. Definitely.

Orthodox. And God made this clear through the prophet; for he said, "I multiplied visions and became a likeness in the hands of prophets."[70] He did not say, "I was seen," but "I became a likeness." The likeness does not reveal the actual nature of the one who is seen. For the emperor's image does not reveal the nature of the emperor himself, even if it preserves the emperor's visible features.

Eranistes. This is vague and unclear.

Orthodox. The people who saw those revelations did not see God's substance, did they?

Eranistes. Who would be so insane as to dare to say that?

Orthodox. And yet it was said that they saw.

Eranistes. It was.

Orthodox. So when we use religious arguments and rely on divine denials that explicitly state that "No one has ever seen God,"[71] we are saying that they have seen, not the divine nature, but certain visions adapted to their capability.

Eranistes. That is what we say.

Orthodox. Let us think about the angels in the same way, then, when we hear, "They see the face of your Father daily."[72] For they do not [76] see the divine substance, which is infinite, unlimited, incomprehensible, and embraces all things, but rather a certain glory that is adapted to their own nature.

Eranistes. I've admitted that this is correct.

Orthodox. After becoming human, however, he is also seen by angels, according to the divine Apostle, not in a likeness of glory, but using the true and living cloak of flesh as though it were a veil. For he says, "Who was made manifest in flesh, was vindicated in spirit, was seen by the angels."[73]

Eranistes. I accepted this as scriptural; but I do not accept newly invented words.

Orthodox. What word have we invented?

Eranistes. The word "veil." What Scripture text called the Lord's flesh a veil?

70. Hos 12.10 (LXX 12.11).
71. Jn 1.18.
72. Mt 18.10.
73. 1 Tm 3.16.

Orthodox. You have apparently not read divine Scripture very carefully, because, if you had, you would not have found fault with the image I used. For in the first place, the divine Apostle's statement that the invisible nature was made manifest through flesh allows us to understand the flesh as a veil of the divinity.[74] Second, the divine Apostle clearly used the word in the letter to the Hebrews. So he says, "Having freedom, therefore, brethren, to enter the temple through the blood of Jesus, through a new and living way that he inaugurated for us, through the veil, i.e., his flesh, and having a great priest over the house of God, let us approach with a true heart in the full assurance of faith,"[75] and so on.

Eranistes. The argument is undeniable, since it has been confirmed by apostolic testimony.

Orthodox. Then don't accuse us of invention. For we shall also provide you with other testimony, from the prophets, which clearly calls the Lord's flesh a robe and a garment.

Eranistes. If it seems obscure and ambiguous, we shall reject it; but if it's clear, we shall welcome it with gratitude.

[77] *Orthodox.* I shall make you testify yourself to the truth of the promise. Do you know that, when the patriarch Jacob blessed Judah, he determined Judah's power over the Lord's children? For he said, "A ruler will not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he comes for whom it is reserved, and he is the expectation of the nations."[76] You admitted before that this prophecy was spoken about our savior.[77]

Eranistes. I did.

Orthodox. Remember what follows, then, for he goes on to say, "Whose coming the nations await; he will wash his robe in wine and his garment in blood of the grape."[78]

Eranistes. The patriarch spoke about clothing, not about a body.

Orthodox. Show me, then, when or where he washed his garment in blood of the grape.

74. See 1 Tm 3.16.
75. Heb 10.19–22.
76. Gn 49.10.
77. See above, p. 39.
78. Gn 49.11.

Eranistes. You show that he reddened his body with them.

Orthodox. Please answer in esoteric language, for there may be some uninitiated people nearby.[79]

Eranistes. I shall hear in this way and answer in this way.

Orthodox. Do you know that the Lord called himself a vine?

Eranistes. I know that he said, "I am the true vine."[80]

Orthodox. What is the fruit of the vine called when it has been pressed?

Eranistes. It is called wine.

Orthodox. When the soldiers pierced the savior's side with the lance, what flowed out of it according to the Gospel writers?[81]

Eranistes. Blood and water.

Orthodox. He called the savior's blood, therefore, blood of a grape. For if the Lord was called a vine, and if the fruit of the vine is called wine, and if springs of blood and water poured from the Lord's side and ran over the rest of his body to the ground, then the patriarch's prophecy was reasonable and appropriate: "He will wash his robe in wine and his garment in blood of the grape."[82] For just as we call the sacramental fruit of the vine [78] the Lord's blood after the consecration, so he called the blood of the true vine blood of the grape.

Eranistes. The explanation you gave was both esoteric and clear.

Orthodox. Even if what I have said is enough to convince you, I shall nonetheless propose yet another proof to confirm the truth.

Eranistes. You will perform a service for me if you do this, for you will increase the benefit.

Orthodox. Do you know that the Lord called his own body bread?[83]

79. In this section Theodoret employs terms drawn from the Greek mystery religions, terms that reflect Christian understanding of the Eucharist as a mystery (μυστήριον), a secret, to be disclosed only to initiates, namely, the baptized. Esoteric language refers to cryptic explanations made in ambiguous language that the uninitiated cannot understand. When μυστήριον is used in reference to the Eucharist, it will be translated "mystery." The adjective μυστικός will be translated "sacramental."

80. Jn 15.1.

81. Jn 19.34.

82. Gn 49.11.

83. See Jn 6, passim.

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. And [do you know] that in another place, he called his flesh wheat?

Eranistes. I know this too. For I heard him say, "The hour has come for the Son of Man[84] to be glorified,"[85] and, "Unless the grain of wheat falls into the ground and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit."[86]

Orthodox. In handing down the mysteries, then, he called the bread body and the mixture blood.[87]

Eranistes. That is correct.

Orthodox. But with respect to nature the body would properly be called body and the blood would properly be called blood.

Eranistes. I agree.

Orthodox. But our savior exchanged the names and gave the name of the symbol to the body and the name of the body to the symbol; in the same way he called himself a vine and named the symbol blood.

Eranistes. What you have said is true, but I would like to learn the reason for the exchange of names.

Orthodox. Those who have been initiated into the sacred [mysteries] see the point clearly. For he wanted those who share in the sacred mysteries not to give attention to the nature of the offerings, but to believe, because of the exchange of names, in the transformation[88] brought about by grace. For in calling what was a body by nature wheat and bread and by naming [himself] a vine, [79] he has honored the visible symbols with the name of "body" and "blood," not by changing the nature, but by adding grace to the nature.

Eranistes. You have discussed the mysteries in esoteric language and have clearly explained material that not everybody understood.

84. Theodoret uses the title Son of Man, in contrast to Son of God, to verify the true humanity of Jesus Christ.

85. Jn 12.23.

86. Jn 12.24.

87. See Mt 26.26–28 and parallels. Orthodox is apparently referring to a mixture of wine and water.

88. "Transformation" translates the word μεταβολή, which can refer to a real change or transformation in substance.

Orthodox. Since we have agreed, then, that the patriarch called the Lord's body a robe and a garment,[89] and since we have shifted the discussion to the sacred mysteries, tell me, for the sake of truth, of what do you think that sacred food is a symbol and a type—the Lord Christ's divinity or his body and blood?

Eranistes. It obviously [is a symbol and type] of those things, whose name it has received.

Orthodox. Do you mean the body and the blood?

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. You have spoken like a lover of truth. For when the Lord took the symbol, he did not say, "This is my divinity," but, "This is my body," and then, "This is my blood."[90] And elsewhere he said, "The bread that I shall give is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world."[91]

Eranistes. These words are true, for they are divine words.

Orthodox. If they are true, therefore, as indeed they are, the Lord apparently did have a body.

Eranistes. Am I saying that he did not have body?

Orthodox. So you confess that he had a body.

Eranistes. I say that "The Word became flesh,"[92] for this is what I have been taught.

Orthodox. It seems that, as the proverb says, we are drawing water in a sieve,[93] for after all those proofs and answers to your objections, you are repeating the same words.

Eranistes. I am not offering you my words, but those of the Gospel.

Orthodox. But haven't I offered an interpretation of the Gospel words based on the statements of the prophets and the Apostle?

Eranistes. They cannot solve the problem.

Orthodox. But we showed that, even though he was invisible, he was made manifest through the flesh.[94] And we have been taught about this very relationship with the flesh by divine men.

89. See Gn 49.11.
90. Mt 26.26, 28, and parallels.
91. Jn 6.51.
92. Jn 1.14a.
93. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 7.40.
94. See 1 Tm 3.16.

For "he took hold of Abraham's seed."[95] And the Lord [80] God said to the patriarch, "All the nations of the earth will be blessed in your seed."[96] And the Apostle said, "For it is clear that the Lord descended from Judah."[97] And we cited many other testimonies like this. But since you want to hear still more, listen to the Apostle, who says, "For every high priest taken from among human beings is appointed to offer gifts and sacrifices."[98] It follows that he must have something to offer.

Eranistes. Show me, then, that he took a body and offered it.

Orthodox. The divine Apostle himself teaches this clearly in the same passage. For after a few words he says, "Therefore, on coming into the world, he says, 'You did not want sacrifice and offering, but you formed a body for me.'"[99] He did not say, "You changed me into a body," but, "You formed a body for me." He reveals that the body was formed by the Spirit, in keeping with the words of the angel who says, "Do not be afraid to take Mary your wife; for what was begotten in her is from the Holy Spirit."[100]

Eranistes. Then the virgin bore only a body.

Orthodox. It seems that you have not even understood the basic construction of the words, not to mention their meaning. You see, [the angel] is teaching Joseph about the manner of the conception, not about that of the birth, for he did not say that what was begotten of her, i.e., what was made or formed, is from the Holy Spirit. Since Joseph was ignorant of the mystery and so suspected adultery, he was, therefore, taught clearly that the formation was the work of the Spirit.[101] [God] hinted at this through the prophet by saying, "You formed a body for me."[102] And the divine Apostle, who was a spiritual man, interpreted

95. Heb 2.16.
96. Gn 22.18.
97. Heb 7.14.
98. Heb 5.1.
99. Heb 10.5.
100. Mt 1.20.

101. Theodoret's point is that the Spirit was responsible for the conception of the child, not for the child's body, which was formed by the natural process of childbearing and is, therefore, a real human body.

102. See Ps 40.6 (LXX 39.7). Although Theodoret attributes this quote to the "prophet," he actually uses the text found in Heb 10.5; see the following note.

the prophecy.[103] If the proper work of priests, therefore, is to offer gifts, and if Christ the Lord, according to his humanity, was called a priest and offered no other sacrifice but his own body, then Christ the Lord had a body.

Eranistes. I have often stated that I do not say that God the Word appeared without a body; but I also do not say that God the Word assumed a body, but that he became flesh.

[81] *Orthodox.* The way I see it, we are fighting with the followers of Valentinus, Marcion, and Manes. But not even they would ever have dared to say that the immutable nature was changed into flesh.

Eranistes. It is unchristian to revile other people.[104]

Orthodox. We're not reviling; we're fighting for the truth and we're terribly grieved that you quarrel with indisputable arguments as though they were doubtful. But I'll try to do away with your mean belligerence. Tell me, therefore, whether you remember the promises God made to David.

Eranistes. Which ones?

Orthodox. The ones that the prophet wrote down in the Eighty-eighth Psalm.[105]

Eranistes. I know many promises made to David. Which ones are you looking for now?

Orthodox. The ones about Christ the Lord.

Eranistes. Recall the words to my mind yourself, since you promised to offer proof.

Orthodox. Listen to the prophet, then, as he sings God's praises at the very beginning of the psalm. For because he foresaw with prophetic eyes that the people would break the Law and would for that reason become slaves, he reminded his Lord of the true promises and said, "I shall sing of your mercies, Lord, forever; from generation to generation I shall proclaim your truth with my mouth, for you said, 'Mercy will be built up forever.' Your truth will be prepared in the heavens."[106] Through all these words the prophet teaches that God made the promise out

103. See Heb 10.5.
104. See 1 Cor 6.10.
105. The reference is to Ps 89 (LXX 88).
106. Ps 89.1–2 (LXX 88.2–3).

of love for humanity and that the promise is true. Then he tells what God promised and to whom, by having God himself speak; for he says, "I have made a covenant with my chosen ones";[107] he called the patriarchs chosen ones. Then he adds, "I have sworn to David my servant."[108] He also declares the contents of the oath: "To eternity I shall prepare your seed, and I shall build up your throne from generation to generation."[109] Tell me, therefore; who do you think was called "seed of David"?

[82] *Eranistes.* The promise was made about Solomon.

Orthodox. So God also made covenants with the patriarchs about Solomon. For prior to what was said about David, [the psalmist] recalled the promises made to them; for he says, "I have made a covenant with my chosen ones."[110] God promised the patriarchs that he would bless all the nations in their seed. Show me, then, that the nations were blessed through Solomon.

Eranistes. Has God, therefore, fulfilled this promise, not through Solomon, but through our savior?

Orthodox. Yes, and Christ the Lord, therefore, fulfilled the promises made to David.

Eranistes. I think that God made these promises about either Solomon or Zerubbabel.

Orthodox. A moment ago you were using the words of Marcion, Valentinus, and Manes; now you have shifted to the position diametrically opposite and are advocating the shamelessness of the Jews. This is typical of those who turn off the main road; they wander about here and there, since they are walking on an unused path.[111]

Eranistes. The Apostle expels abusive people from the kingdom.[112]

Orthodox. If their abuse is groundless. For even the divine Apostle himself is acting appropriately when he used this type

107. Ps 89.3a (LXX 88.4a).
108. Ps 89.3b (LXX 88.4b).
109. Ps 89.4 (LXX 88.5).
110. Ps 89.3a (LXX 88.4a).
111. Orthodox is expressing a type of anti-Jewish sentiment present in much early Christian literature. The image of the "path" apparently refers to rejection of Christ and implies a religious, not an ethnic, basis for the negativity. This attitude may well be one cause of much of the anti-Semitism that appears in later Christianity, but with ethnic, not religious, motivation.
112. See 1 Cor 6.10.

of language and calls the Galatians "fools,"[113] and says of others, "People whose minds are corrupt and whose faith is false";[114] of still another group he says, "Whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame,"[115] and so on.

Eranistes. Tell me what grounds for abuse did I give you?

Orthodox. You cheerfully support the most obvious enemies of the truth; or don't you think that religious people can find very reasonable grounds for irritation in this.

Eranistes. What enemies of the truth did I support?

Orthodox. Just now, you supported the Jews.

Eranistes. How, in what way?

Orthodox. Jews [83] refer prophecies like these to Solomon and Zerubbabel, in order to prove that Christian teaching is inconsistent. But the words themselves suffice to refute their wickedness. For God says, "To eternity I shall prepare your seed."[116] Yet not only did Solomon and Zerubbabel, to whom they refer such prophecies, live the allotted time of life and then reach an end, but the whole family of David was wiped out as well. For who knows anyone today descended from the root of David?

Eranistes. So those who are called patriarchs of the Jews are not of David's family?[117]

Orthodox. Absolutely not.

Eranistes. But where do they come from?

Orthodox. They descend from Herod the foreigner,[118] who

113. Gal 3.1.
114. 2 Tm 3.8.
115. Phil 3.19.
116. Ps 89.4 (LXX 88.5).

117. The patriarchs mentioned here are not the classical patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The term refers to the hereditary office of the so-called Palestinian patriarchate, which was, under Roman auspices, "both the supreme office of imperial Jewry and a high office of the state." (Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews,* vol. 2, *Ancient Times,* part 2, 2d ed. [New York: Columbia University Press, 1953], p. 192). It appears to have been established in the second century C.E. under Antoninus Pius; it was strengthened by Diocletian and recognized by the Christian emperors until its suppression in about 425. See further Baron, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 126, 178, and 191–95; and the article "Jews," in M. Cary et al, editors, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 468.

118. This refers to Herod the Great, whom the Romans appointed king of the Jews and who ruled from 37–4 B.C.E. The last of his descendants ruled until about 100 C.E.

happened to be an Ascalonite on his father's side, and an Idumaean on his mother's. And they have disappeared completely, and a long time has passed since their rule came to an end. But the Lord God promised not only to protect David's seed forever, but also to preserve the kingdom in perpetuity. For God said, "I shall build up your throne from generation to generation."[119] But we see that his family is gone and the kingdom has come to an end. And even though we see this, we know that the God of the universe does not lie.

Eranistes. Obviously God does not lie.

Orthodox. If God is truthful, therefore, as God certainly is, and if God promised David to preserve his family forever and to protect the kingdom perpetually, but we see neither the family nor the kingdom, since both have come to an end, how can we persuade our adversaries that God does not lie?

Eranistes. The prophecy definitely proclaims Christ the Lord.

Orthodox. Since you admit this, therefore, come now and let us consider the middle of the psalm together; for we shall then understand the prophecy's meaning more clearly.

Eranistes. You lead the way in the investigation, for I shall follow your tracks very carefully.

[84] *Orthodox.* God made many promises about this seed: that it would rule on sea and on land; that it would be above earthly rulers; that it would be called the first-born of God and would without hesitation call God father.[120] Then he added, "I shall preserve my mercy for him forever, and my covenant shall be faithful to him; and I shall establish his seed forever and ever and his throne as the days of heaven."[121]

Eranistes. The promise transcends human nature, since life and honor imply immortality and eternity, while human beings are mortal. For nature has a short life span, and royal power, even in life, is subject to many changes and reversals. The magnitude of the promise, therefore, fits Christ the savior alone.

Orthodox. Turn to the rest of the psalm, then, and your opin-

119. Ps 89.4 (LXX 88.5).
120. See Ps 89.19–27 (LXX 88.20–28).
121. Ps 89.28–29 (LXX 88.29–30).

ion about this will certainly be confirmed all the more. For the God of the universe also says, "I have sworn once and for all by my holiness that I shall not lie to David. His seed will remain forever, and his throne as the sun before me, and as the moon, which is fixed forever."[122] And he showed that the promise is true by adding, "And the witness in heaven is faithful."[123]

Eranistes. We should believe unhesitatingly the promises made by the faithful witness. For if we are accustomed to believe human beings who are presumably telling the truth, even if they do not confirm their words with an oath, who would be so insane as not to believe the maker of the universe when he supports his words with an oath? For the one who forbids others to swear disclosed the immutability of his will, as the Apostle also says, by means of an oath: "So that through two immutable things, in which it is impossible for God to lie, we who sought protection might experience a powerful inducement to seize the hope set before us."[124]

Orthodox. If the promise, then, is true beyond doubt, but we do not see among the Jews either the family or the kingdom of the prophet David, we should obviously believe that our Lord Jesus Christ is called the seed of David according to the humanity. For he has both life and the eternal kingdom.

[85] *Eranistes.* We are free of doubt and admit that this is true.

Orthodox. This should be enough, then, to show clearly the humanity of our God and savior that he assumed from the seed of David. But to drive away all disagreement with more witnesses, let us hear God through the voice of the prophet Isaiah recalling the promises made to David. For he says, "I shall make an eternal covenant with you";[125] and to identify the lawgiver he added, "The holy things of David are faithful."[126] For since God, when he made these promises to David, said, "And the witness in heaven is faithful,"[127] to remind them of this saying [Isaiah]

122. Ps 89.35–37a (LXX 88.36–38a).
123. Ps 89.37b (LXX 88.38b).
124. Heb 6.18.
125. Is 55.3c.
126. Is 55.3d.
127. Ps 89.37b and see 89.3b (LXX 88.38b and 4b).

said, "The holy things of David are faithful."[128] In this way [God] teaches that he himself made the promise to David, spoke through Isaiah, and will fulfill the promise.

And the rest of the prophecy fits in with this, for it says, "Behold I have given him as a witness among the nations, as a ruler and leader among the nations. Behold, nations that do not know you will call upon you, and people who do not know you will flee to you for protection."[129] This does not pertain to any of David's descendants. For which of David's descendants was proclaimed, as Isaiah said, ruler of the nations? And which nations called in prayer upon one of David's descendants as God?

Eranistes. It's wrong to go on at length about the obvious; for all of this truly applies to Christ the Lord.

Orthodox. Let's turn, then, to another prophetic testimony and hear the same prophet say, "A shoot will spring from the root of Jesse, and a blossom will rise up from the root."[130]

Eranistes. I think this prophecy was written about Zerubbabel.

Orthodox. If you listen to the rest of it, you will change your mind, since not even Jews understood this prophecy in this way. For the prophet goes on, "And a spirit of God will rest upon him, a spirit of wisdom and understanding, a spirit of counsel and courage, a spirit of knowledge and piety, a spirit of fear of God will fill him."[131] No one would apply these words to a mere human being, since the gifts[132] of the Spirit are given in different ways even to very holy people.[133] And the divine [86] Apostle testifies to this when he says, "For to one is given, through the Spirit, a word of wisdom, and to another, in accordance with the same Spirit, a word of knowledge,"[134] and so on. But here the prophet has said that the one born from the root of Jesse has all the powers of the Spirit.[135]

Eranistes. It is sheer madness to deny this.

Orthodox. Then listen to the rest of it as well, for you will see

128. Is 55.3d.
129. Is 55.4–5.
130. Is 11.1.
131. Is 11.2–3a.
132. Χαρίσματα.
133. See 1 Cor 12.4.
134. 1 Cor 12.8.
135. See Is 11.1–3a.

that some parts of this text transcend human nature. So he says, "He will not judge according to opinion, nor will he convict in accordance with idle talk; but he will pass judgment on the lowly with justice, and will convict the mighty of the earth with righteousness; and he will strike the earth with the word of his mouth, and will destroy the wicked by the breath of his lips."[136] Some of these prophecies relate to humanity, and others to divinity. For justice, truth, rectitude, and impartiality in judging reveal human virtue;[137] but destroying the wicked by a word and changing the earth for the better both insinuate the omnipotence of the divinity.

Eranistes. We have learned very clearly from this that the prophet foretold the coming of Christ our savior.

Orthodox. The words that follow these will teach you with even greater clarity the truth of the interpretation. For he adds, "Then a wolf will feed with a lamb, and a leopard will lie down with a kid, and a calf, a lion, and a bull will feed together,"[138] and so on; with these words he teaches both the diversity of characters and the harmony of faith. And our experience of reality is a witness to the prophecy. For one font welcomes rich and poor, slaves and masters, subjects and rulers, soldiers and civilians, and those who hold power over the whole world; one teaching is imparted to all, one sacramental table is offered to all, and each believer enjoys an equal share.

Eranistes. But this shows that God is the subject of the prophecy.

Orthodox. Not only God, but also a human being. That is why he also said, at the very beginning of this prophecy, that a shoot will spring from the root of Jesse.[139] And at the conclusion of the prophecy he repeated the [87] introduction, for he said, "And there will be the root of Jesse, and he will rise up to rule the nations, the nations will hope in him, and his rest will be glory."[140] Jesse was David's father, and the promise with oaths was made to David. He would not have called Christ the Lord a

136. Is 11.3b–4.
137. Ἀρετή.
138. Is 11.6.
139. See Is 11.1.
140. Is 11.10.

shoot that sprang from Jesse, if he knew him only as God. The prophecy also foretold the change in the world, for it says, "The whole earth was filled with knowledge of the Lord, as a great water covers the seas."[141]

Eranistes. I have heard the prophet's oracles. But I would have liked to know clearly if the divine choir of apostles also said that Christ the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh.

Orthodox. Your demand is not difficult, but very simple and easy. Listen, then, to the chief of the apostles as he declares that "David was a prophet and knew that God swore an oath to him, to raise up from the fruit of his loins the Messiah, according to the flesh, to sit on his throne; he said with foreknowledge about his resurrection that his soul was not abandoned to hell, and that his flesh did not see corruption."[142] From this you can discern that Christ the Lord was born from David's seed according to the flesh and had not only flesh, but also a soul.

Eranistes. What other apostles preached this?

Orthodox. The witness that the mighty Peter bore to the truth was enough by itself, for the Lord received the confession of piety from him alone and confirmed it with the famous blessing.[143] But since you also want to hear others proclaiming this, listen to Paul and Barnabas preaching in Antioch of Pisidia. For after they spoke about David, they added this: "From his seed, according to a promise, God raised up for Israel a savior, Jesus,"[144] and so on. And when he wrote to Timothy, the divinely inspired Paul said this: "Remember Jesus Christ, raised from the dead, from the seed of David, according to my gospel."[145] And [88] when he wrote to the Romans in the prologue he immediately recalled the relationship with David and said, "Paul, a slave of Jesus Christ, called as an apostle, separated out for God's gospel, which he foretold through his prophets in holy Scriptures concerning his Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh."[146]

141. Is 11.9.
142. Acts 2.30–31.
143. See Mt 16.13–19.
144. Acts 13.23.
145. 2 Tm 2.8.
146. Rom 1.1–3.

Eranistes. The proofs are many and true. But tell me why you omitted the rest of the testimony.

Orthodox. Because your doubts concern the humanity, not the divinity. If you were arguing about the divinity, I would have offered you proofs about it. But simply saying "according to the flesh"[147] is enough to reveal the divinity, even though it has not been mentioned. For in explaining a relationship with an ordinary human being, I do not say, "So-and-so, son of so-and-so according to the flesh," but simply "son." And this is how the divine evangelist composed the genealogy. For he says, "Abraham begot Isaac";[148] he did not add "according to the flesh," for Isaac was only a human being. He also listed the others in the same way, since they were human beings with nothing that transcended their nature. But when the heralds of truth speak about Christ the Lord and disclose his relationship in this world to the uninformed, they add the phrase "according to the flesh"; in this way they point to the divinity and teach that Christ the Lord is not only a human being, but also eternal God.

Eranistes. You have presented many apostolic and prophetic witnesses; but I believe the evangelist who says, "The Word became flesh."[149]

Orthodox. I too believe this sacred teaching, but I understand it in the religious sense that [the Word] is said to have become flesh by taking flesh and a rational soul. But if God the Word took nothing from our nature, then the covenants with oaths made by the God of the universe with the patriarchs are not true, the blessing of Judah is worthless,[150] the promise to David is a lie, and the virgin is superfluous, since she gave nothing of our nature to the God who was made flesh. And so the predictions of the prophets are not fulfilled.

"Our preaching is empty," therefore, "our faith is also empty,"[151] and the hope of the resurrection is in vain. For the Apos-

147. Rom 1.3.
148. Mt 1.2.
149. Jn 1.14a.
150. See Gn 49.8–12 and Ps 89.3b (LXX 88.4b).
151. 1 Cor 15.14.

tle apparently is lying when he says, [89] "[God] raised us and made us sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."[152] For if Christ the Lord had nothing from our nature, he has falsely been named our firstfruit,[153] the body's nature has not been raised from the dead and has not gained the seat at the right hand in heaven.[154] And if none of this happened, how did God raise us and make us sit with Christ,[155] when we had nothing in common with him according to nature? But this is a wicked thing to say. For even though the general resurrection had not yet taken place, and even though the kingdom of heaven had not yet been made available to believers, the divine Apostle shouts, "[God] raised us and made us sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus."[156] He teaches that, since our firstfruit rose and received the seat at the right hand, we too shall definitely gain resurrection,[157] and that those who share in his nature and have adopted the faith also share in the firstfruit of his glory.

Eranistes. You have detailed many true sayings; but I wanted to know the meaning of the evangelist's words.

Orthodox. You don't need someone else's interpretation, because the evangelist interprets himself. For after he said, "The Word became flesh,"[158] he added, "and dwelt among us";[159] in other words, [the Word] is said to have become flesh by dwelling among us and using, as a kind of temple, the flesh that was taken from us. And to teach us that [the Word] remained immutable he added, "and we have seen his glory, glory as of an only begotten son from a father, full of grace and truth."[160] For even though he was clothed in flesh, he manifested his father's excellence, emitted rays of divinity, and poured out the radiance of the Lord's power, revealing through miracles the hidden nature.

The divine Apostle wrote to the Philippians in a similar vein: "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who, al-

152. Eph 2.6.
153. See 1 Cor 15.20.
154. See Eph 2.6.
155. See Eph 2.6.
156. Eph 2.6.
157. See 1 Cor 15.20.
158. Jn 1.14a.
159. Jn 1.14b.
160. Jn 1.14cd.

though he was in God's form, did not consider being equal to God something to be grasped, but emptied himself and took the form of a slave, coming into being in human likeness; and being found in human appearance, he humbled himself and became obedient to death, even to death on a cross."[161]

See the relationship between their proclamations. The evangelist [90] said, "The Word became flesh,"[162] while the Apostle said, "coming into being in human likeness";[163] the evangelist said, "and dwelt among us,"[164] while the Apostle said, "took the form of a slave."[165] The evangelist also said, "We have seen his glory, glory as of an only begotten son from a father,"[166] while the Apostle said, "who, although he was in God's form, did not consider being equal to God something to be grasped."[167] To sum it up, both teach that, although he is God and Son of God, although he is clothed in the Father's glory, although he has the same nature and power as the one who begot him, although he exists in the beginning, is with God, and is God,[168] and although he formed creation, he took the form of a slave. And he seemed to be only that which was visible, but he was also God who was clothed in human nature and accomplished the salvation of human beings. The texts, "The Word became flesh,"[169] and "coming into being in human likeness and being found in human appearance,"[170] reveal this. For the Jews only saw the latter and therefore said to him, "We are not stoning you for a good work, but for blasphemy, because you, who are a human being, make yourself God."[171] And they also said, "This man is not from God, because he does not keep the Sabbath."[172]

Eranistes. Jews were blinded by their lack of faith and for this reason said such things.

Orthodox. If you were to find the apostles speaking like this even before the resurrection, would you admit the interpretation?

Eranistes. Perhaps I shall.

161. Phil 2.5–8.
162. Jn 1.14a.
163. Phil 2.7.
164. Jn 1.14b.
165. Phil 2.7.
166. Jn 1.14c.
167. Phil 2.6.
168. See Jn 1.1.
169. Jn 1.14a.
170. Phil 2.7.
171. Jn 10.33.
172. Jn 9.16.

Orthodox. Then listen to them talking in the ship after the tremendous miracle of the calming [of the sea]: "What kind of man is this, that the sea and the winds obey him?"[173]

Eranistes. You have proved that. But tell me this, why does the divine Apostle say that he had come into being in human likeness?[174]

Orthodox. What was assumed is not a human likeness, but a human being's nature,[175] for it is the form of a slave. Just as the form of God is understood as the nature of God, so the form of slave is understood as the nature of slave. [91] By taking this nature, therefore, he came into being in human likeness and was found in human appearance.[176] For although he was God, he appeared to be a human being because of the nature that he assumed. The evangelist said, therefore, that coming into being in human likeness is becoming flesh. And so that you may know that those who deny our savior's flesh are disciples of the opposite spirit, listen to what the mighty John says in the catholic[177] epistle: "Every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ came in flesh is from God; and every spirit that does not confess that Jesus Christ came in flesh is not from God, and this is the spirit of the antichrist."[178]

Eranistes. Your interpretation was persuasive, but I would also like to know how the ancient teachers of the Church understood the text, "The Word became flesh."[179]

Orthodox. The proofs from the apostles and prophets should

173. Mt 8.27. Theodoret plays with the double meaning of the word ἄνθρωπος ("human being" and "male human being") to "show" the humanity of Jesus.

174. See Phil 2.7.

175. Theodoret employs the classical Antiochene language when he speaks of the Word's assumption or taking of the human. Here, however, unlike Theodore of Mopsuestia, he says that the Word assumed, not a human being, but a nature of a human being. Theodoret, therefore, remains within his tradition, but uses less controversial language; he does, however, allow Eranistes to raise the accusation that he is preaching two sons, a charge that was actually brought against him several years after the publication of this work.

176. See Phil 2.7–8.

177. "Catholic" here means "general," i.e., addressed to the universal Church.

178. 1 Jn 4.2–3.

179. Jn 1.14a.

have convinced you. But since you ask for the interpretations of the holy fathers, I shall, with God's help, also offer you this remedy.

Eranistes. Do not introduce men who are unknown or suspect, for I shall not accept the interpretations of such people.

Orthodox. What do you think? Is that famous Athanasius, the shining light of the Alexandrian church, trustworthy?[180]

Eranistes. Absolutely. For he confirmed his teaching by suffering for the truth.

Orthodox. Then listen to him when he wrote to Epictetus;[181] he says this:[182]

> 1. John's words, "The Word became flesh,"[183] have this[184] meaning, as one can learn from a similar text. For Paul wrote, "Christ became a curse for us."[185] Just as he was said to have become a curse, not because he himself became a curse, but because he accepted the curse on our behalf, so also is he said to have become flesh, not because he changed into flesh, but because he assumed flesh for us.

Orthodox. These are the words of the most divine Athanasius. Next is Gregory, well known by everyone, who long ago guided the imperial city that lay at the mouth of the Bosporus and who later [92] lived in Nazianzus; he wrote in the same way to Cledonius against the hair-splitting of Apollinarius.

Eranistes. He was a famous man and a champion of religion.

180. Theodoret quotes seven early teachers within the text of the dialogue before beginning the formal collection of citations. Athanasius is the earliest of these, but Theodoret may have started with him to counterbalance the ill will that had long prevailed between his own tradition and that of Alexandria.

181. Here begins an anthology of quotations from early Church teachers; each dialogue ends in this same way. Titles are stated in the form used today, which sometimes differs from the title given by Theodoret. The *CPG* or *CPL* number is also cited, to facilitate identification of the original text; in the case of consecutive quotations from the same work, no such number is listed.

182. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Letter to Epictetus* 8. *CPG* 2.2095.

183. Jn 1.14a.

184. "This" refers to the previous sentence in the letter of Athanasius where he says that the body of the Word is not consubstantial with God, but was born of Mary, and that the Word did not change into flesh and bones, but came in the flesh.

185. Gal 3.13.

Orthodox. Then listen to his words:[186]

> 2. In my opinion, the phrase, "The Word became flesh,"[187] can mean the same as the statements that he became sin and a curse[188]—not that the Lord changed into them, for that is impossible, but that by accepting them he assumed our transgressions and bore our sicknesses.[189]

Eranistes. The interpretations of both men coincide.

Orthodox. Since we have shown you that the shepherds of the south and the north are in harmony, let us now introduce you to the famous teachers of the west, who wrote their interpretation in a different language, but not with a different meaning.

Eranistes. I hear that Ambrose, who adorned the high priest's throne at Milan, fought valiantly against all heresy and wrote very beautiful works that agree with the teaching of the apostles.

Orthodox. I shall give you his interpretation. In the discourse on faith he says:[190]

> 3. But it has been written, they say, that "The Word became flesh."[191] I do not deny what was written, but look at its meaning. For he continues, "And dwelt among us,"[192] that is, that Word who had taken flesh is the one who dwelt among us, that is, dwelt in human flesh. Are you surprised, then, at the text, "The Word became flesh,"[193] because the flesh was assumed by God the Word, when even in the case of sin, which the Word did not have, it was said that the Word became sin?[194] This does not mean that [the Word] became the nature and the activity[195] of sin, but [the Word's purpose was] to crucify our sin in his own flesh. Let them stop [93] saying, therefore, that the nature of the Word changed; for the one who assumed is one thing, and that which was assumed is something else.[196]

186. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Letter* 101.61. *CPG* 2.3032.
187. Jn 1.14a.
188. See 2 Cor 5.21 and Gal 3.13.
189. See Is 53.4.
190. Ambrose of Milan, *On the Sacrament of the Lord's Incarnation* 6.59–61. *CPL* 152.
191. Jn 1.14a.
192. Jn 1.14b.
193. Jn 1.14a.
194. See 2 Cor 5.21.
195. Ἐνέργεια.
196. "The one who assumed" is masculine, indicating a person; "that which was assumed" is neuter and is, therefore, apparently not equated with a person.

Eranistes. After them we should hear the eastern teachers, for this is the only section of the world we have not touched.

Orthodox. They should in fact have been the first witnesses to the truth, for they were the first to hear the apostolic preaching. But since you have sharpened your tongues against the first-born children of religion and honed them on the whetstone of untruth, we assigned the last place to them, so that, after hearing the others first, you might compare the sayings of the two groups, marvel at their harmony, and stop blaspheming. Listen, then, to Flavian, who for a long time wisely steered the church of Antioch and enabled the churches he directed to overwhelm the Arian flood. Here is his interpretation of the Gospel text; he says:[197]

> 4. "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us."[198] The Word was not transformed into flesh and did not stop being God; the latter state was eternal, while the former came about through God's plan,[199] for the Word built his own temple and dwelt in what it made,[200] which was capable of suffering.[201]

Orthodox. If you also want to hear the ancient Palestinians, pay attention to the admirable Gelasius, who meticulously cultivated the church of Caesarea. He says the following in his homily on the manifestation of the Lord:[202]

> 5. Learn the truth from John the fisherman who says, "And the Word became flesh,"[203] not because the Word himself changed, but because he dwelt among us. A tent is one thing, and the Word is another; the temple is one thing, and the God who dwells in it is another.[204]

Theodoret's citation of this text seems to support his declaration that he does not teach that Christ was in reality two Sons.

197. Flavian of Antioch, *Homily on John 1.14. CPG* 2.3435.4.

198. Jn 1.14ab.

199. Οἰκονομικῶς, an adverb based on the noun οἰκονομία, the [divine] economy, the divine plan for the universe, or divine providence.

200. Γέννημα.

201. Παθητός.

202. Gelasius of Caesarea, *Dogmatic Fragments. On the Epiphany. CPG* 2.3520.

203. Jn 1.14a.

204. See Jn 1.14b. Here the word for "another" is in both cases in the neuter gender.

Eranistes. I am absolutely amazed at the agreement.

Orthodox. Then there is John, the great light of the world, who first cultivated the church of Antioch with generosity, and then wisely tended the imperial city. Don't you think that he preserved the apostolic rule of faith?

[94] *Eranistes.* I believe that he is definitely a marvelous teacher.

Orthodox. This man, outstanding in every way, interprets this Gospel passage and says:[205]

> 6. And so, when you hear "The Word became flesh,"[206] do not be disturbed or depressed. For the substance did not turn into flesh—for this idea stems from absolute evil. But it remained what it was and in this way took the form of the slave. For when he says, "Christ bought us back from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us,"[207] he is not saying that his substance abandoned its glory and was transformed into a curse (for not even demons, raving maniacs, or total idiots would think this, since it combines lunacy with wickedness). He is not saying this, therefore, but that he accepted the curse that was on us and does not leave us under a curse from that time on. In the same way it says here that he became flesh, not by changing his substance into flesh, but by assuming flesh, while the substance remained intact.

Orthodox. If you also want to hear Severian, the shepherd of Gabala, I shall give you his interpretation as well; listen to it carefully:[208]

> 7. The phrase "The Word became flesh"[209] does not signify a change of nature, but the assumption of our nature. For if you think that the word "became" means a change, when you hear Paul say, "Christ bought us back from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us,"[210] do you understand the phrase in reference to nature and a change into a curse? Then just as "hav-

205. John Chrysostom, *Homily on John* 11.1–2. *CPG* 2.4425.
206. Jn 1.14a.
207. Gal 3.13.
208. Severian of Gabala, *Discourse on the Seals. CPG* 2.4209.
209. Jn 1.14a.
210. Gal 3.13.

ing become a curse" simply means that he took the curse against us on himself, in the same way, "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us"[211] merely signifies the assumption of the flesh.

Eranistes. I am amazed at the harmony of these men. For they all [95] interpreted the Gospel words identically, as though they had come together for the same purpose and had written their opinion in common.

Orthodox. Mountains and seas separated them very far from one another, but the separation did not disturb their harmony, since they were all taught by one spiritual grace. I would also have given you the interpretations of the triumphant fighters for religion, Diodore and Theodore, if I had not seen that you were badly disposed toward them and shared Apollinarius's hatred for them.[212] You would have seen that they expressed the same ideas, drew water from the divine spring, and were themselves fountains of the Spirit. But I shall omit them, since you have begun a relentless battle against them. I shall show you, however, what the renowned teachers of the Church thought about the divine Incarnation, so that you might know what they thought about the nature that was taken.

You have surely heard about the famous Ignatius, who received the grace of the episcopate through the right hand of the mighty Peter, guided the church of Antioch, and put on the crown of martyrdom. And [you have also heard about] Irenaeus, who had the benefit of Polycarp's teaching and became the light of the western Galatians,[213] as well as Hippolytus and Methodius, bishops and martyrs, and others whose names I shall append to their teachings.

Eranistes. You will satisfy my desire, if you also provide these testimonies.

Orthodox. Listen to these men, therefore, as they proclaim the apostolic teaching.

211. Jn 1.14ab.

212. The reference here is to Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, fourth century teachers in the tradition of the church of Antioch. They were considered forerunners of Nestorius by many, especially in the church of Alexandria.

213. Γαλαταί, the word used to identify the Galatians of Paul's letter, who lived in the East, in Anatolia. Irenaeus served in the West, in France (Lyons).

The Holy Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch and Martyr

8. From the letter to the Smyrnaeans.[214]

With respect to our Lord [you] have been fully assured that he was truly from David's family according to the flesh, Son of God according to divinity and divine power,[215] truly begotten from a virgin, baptized by John so that all justice might be fulfilled by him,[216] and truly crucified in flesh for us under Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch.

[*96*] *9. By the same author from the same letter.*[217]

For what good does it do me, if someone praises me, but blasphemes my Lord by not confessing that he is a bearer of flesh? Whoever does not say this has denied the Lord utterly and is a bearer of a corpse.

10. By the same author from the same letter.[218]

For if our Lord did this in appearance only, I too have been bound in appearance only. And why have I given myself as a hostage to death, to fire, to sword, and to wild beasts? Whoever is close to the sword is close to God, and whoever is in the midst of wild beasts is in the presence of God. Only in the name of Jesus Christ do I endure all things in order to suffer with him, since he, the perfect human being whom some in their ignorance deny, strengthens me.

11. By the same author from the letter to the Ephesians.[219]

For Jesus Christ our God was carried in her womb by Mary, according to God's plan—of David's seed and of the Holy Spirit;

214. Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* 1.1–2. *CPG* 1.1025; all the quotations from Ignatius are found under this number.
215. See Rom 1.3–4.
216. See Mt 3.15–16.
217. Ignatius of Antioch, op. cit. 5.2.
218. Ignatius of Antioch, op. cit. 4.2–5.1.
219. Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Ephesians* 18.2.

he was born and baptized, in order that our mortality might be cleansed.

12. By the same author from the same letter.[220]

If all of you, separately and as a group, come together in grace, as individuals, in one faith and in one Jesus Christ, from David's family according to the flesh, Son of Man and Son of God. . . .

13. By the same author from the same letter.[221]

One doctor is fleshly and spiritual, begotten from unbegotten, God in a human being, true life in death, both from Mary and from God, first capable of suffering and then incapable of suffering, Jesus Christ our Lord.

14. By the same author from the letter to the Trallians.[222]

Be deaf, therefore, when someone speaks to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of David's family and of Mary, who was truly born, truly ate and drank, was persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, while those on earth, in heaven, and under the earth looked on.[223]

Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons

15. From the third discourse of the work against heresies.[224]

[97] Why did they [i.e., the angels][225] also add the phrase "in the city of David,"[226] except to proclaim good news about the fulfillment of the promise God made to David, that there will be

220. Ignatius of Antioch, op. cit. 20.2.
221. Ignatius of Antioch, op. cit. 7.2.
222. Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Trallians* 9.1.
223. See Phil 2.10.
224. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies* 3.10.4. *CPG* 1.1306; all the quotations from Irenaeus are found under this number.
225. This has been supplied from the text of Irenaeus, to explain why the subject of the verb is plural.
226. Lk 2.11.

an eternal king from the fruit of his loins,[227] a promise that the creator of this universe made?

16. By the same author from the same discourse.[228]

And when he says, "Listen, house of David,"[229] he shows that God had promised David that an eternal king would spring from the fruit of his loins.[230] This is the one who was born from the virgin [descended] from David.

17. By the same author from the same discourse.[231]

If the first Adam, therefore, had had a human father and had been born from seed, it would also have been reasonable to say that the second Adam himself was born of Joseph.[232] But if the first Adam was taken from earth and God formed him,[233] then the one who recapitulated in himself the man formed by God should have had the same kind of birth as that man. Why then did God not take dirt again, but instead caused the formation to take place through Mary? So that there might not be a different formation, that nothing else might be saved, and that that man himself might be recapitulated through the preservation of the likeness. They fall into terrible ruin, therefore, who say that he took nothing from the virgin, so that they might reject the inheritance of the flesh and do away with the likeness.

18. By the same author from the same discourse.[234]

. . . since his descent into Mary would have been superfluous. For why would he come down into her, if he were going to take nothing from her? Moreover, if he had taken nothing from Mary, he would not have consumed food taken from the earth, with which a body taken from the earth is nourished. Nor would

227. See Ps 132.11–12 (LXX 131.11–12).
228. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 3.21.5.
229. Is 7.13.
230. See Ps 132.11–12 (LXX 131.11–12).
231. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 3.21.10–22.1.
232. See 1 Cor 15.45, 47. 233. See Gn 2.7.
234. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 3.22.2.

he, after fasting for forty days like Moses and Elijah, have felt hunger,[235] because the body sought its proper food. Nor would his disciple John have said about him in writing, "Jesus, weary from the journey, sat down."[236] Nor would David have [98] prophesied about him, "They added to the pain of my wounds."[237] And he would not have wept over Lazarus,[238] nor would he have sweated drops of blood.[239] And he would not have said, "My soul is very sorrowful,"[240] nor would blood and water have flowed from his side when it was pierced.[241] For these are all signs[242] of the flesh that was taken from the earth and that he recapitulated in himself,[243] thus saving his creation.[244]

19. By the same author from the same discourse.[245]

For just as, through the disobedience of the one human being who was the first one formed from untilled earth, many were declared sinners and lost life, in the same way, it was also necessary that, through the obedience of one human being who was the first one born of a virgin, many were justified and received salvation.[246]

20. By the same author from the same discourse.[247]

"I have said, 'You are gods and all sons of the most high, but as human beings you die.'"[248] He says this to those who did not accept the gift of adoption,[249] but who dishonor the taking of flesh through the pure birth of the Word of God, deprive humanity of the ascent to God and show ingratitude to God's Word, who was made flesh for them. For this is why the Word became a human being and the Son of God became a Son of Man: that the hu-

235. See Ex 34.28, 1 Kgs 19.8, Mt 4.2, Lk 4.2.
236. Jn 4.6.
237. Ps 69.26 (LXX 68.27).
238. See Jn 11.35.
239. See Lk 22.44.
240. Mt 26.38; see Ps 42.5 (LXX 41.5).
241. See Jn 19.34.
242. Σύμβολα.
243. See Eph 1.10.
244. See Gn 2.7.
245. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 3.18.7.
246. This entire citation is based on Rom 5.19.
247. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 3.19.1.
248. Ps 82.6–7 (LXX 81.6–7).
249. See Rom 8.15, Gal 4.5, Eph 1.5.

man being, by embracing the Word and receiving adoption, might become a son of God.[250]

21. By the same author from the same discourse.[251]

The Spirit came down, therefore, because of the predetermined plan,[252] and the only begotten Son of God, who is also the Word of the Father, came in the fullness of time[253] and was made flesh in a human being, and Jesus Christ our Lord, who is one and the same, as the Lord himself testifies, the apostles confess, and the prophets proclaim, fulfilled the whole plan relating to human beings. Because of this all the teachings of those who have invented ogdoads, tetrads,[254] and unreal appearances[255] were shown to be false.

[99] Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr

22. From the discourse on the text, "The Lord is my shepherd."[256]

And the savior himself was a chest made of incorruptible wood. For his incorruptible and imperishable tabernacle,[257] which engendered no sinful decay, was proclaimed here. For the one who sinned and confessed says, "My wounds grew foul and rotten because of my foolishness."[258] But the Lord was sinless, and his humanity was [formed] of incorruptible wood, i.e., from the virgin and the Holy Spirit; for he was clothed within and without by God's Word as by purest gold.

250. See Jn 1.12.

251. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 3.17.4.

252. The Greek phrase διὰ τὴν προωρισμένην οἰκονομίαν does not signify predestination in its modern theological sense. It refers to the decision made by God in eternity (the "economy") to save humanity through the Incarnation, which itself is often called οἰκονομία.

253. See Gal 4.4.

254. These terms are taken from gnostic teachings that Irenaeus described and refuted in the first book of this work against heresies.

255. This term apparently refers to "Docetists," who were said to have held that the humanity of Christ was not real, but only an illusion.

256. Ps 23.1 (LXX 22.1). Hippolytus, *Homily on Psalm 22.1* [*Ps 23.1 (LXX 22.1)*]. *CPG* 1.1882.4.

257. The image of the Lord's body as a tabernacle derives from the Greek word for "dwelt" in Jn 1.14.

258. Ps 38.5 (LXX 37.5).

23. By the same author from the discourse on Elkanah and Anna.[259]

Bring to me, Samuel, the heifer that is taken to Bethlehem, so that you may reveal the king born of David and the one anointed both king and priest by the Father.[260]

24. By the same author from the same discourse.[261]

Tell me, blessed Mary, what did you conceive in your womb? What did you carry in your virginal womb? For the first-born Word of God came down to you from heaven, and the first-born human being was formed in your womb, so that the first-born Word of God joined to the first-born human being might be revealed.

25. By the same author from the same discourse.[262]

In the second, which took place through the prophets such as Samuel, [God] calls the people back and frees them from foreign slavery.[263] But in the third, in which [God] was present in flesh by assuming from the virgin the human person, who saw the city and wept over it.[264]

26. By the same author from the discourse on the beginning of Isaiah.[265]

He compared the world to Egypt, idolatry to images, the removal and destruction of idolatry to an earthquake. But [he called] the Word Lord, and the most pure tabernacle, in which our Lord Jesus Christ was enthroned when he entered the world to destroy sin, [he called] a swift cloud.[266]

259. Hippolytus, *Commentary on 1 Kings 1.1ff.* [*1 Sm 1.1 (LXX 1 Kgs 1)*]. *From the Discourse on Elkanah and Anna. CPG* 1.1881.1.
260. See 1 Sm 16.1–4.
261. Hippolytus, op. cit.
262. Hippolytus, op. cit.
263. See 1 Sm 7.3–4.
264. See Lk 19.41.
265. Hippolytus, *On the beginning of Isaiah. CPG* 1.1885.
266. See Is 19.1.

The Holy Methodius, Bishop and Martyr

[*100*] *27. From the discourse about martyrs.*[267]

For martyrdom is so awe-inspiring and desirable, that the Lord Christ himself, the Son of God, honored it with his testimony, when he decided that equality with God was not something to be grasped,[268] in order to crown with this gift[269] the human being into whom he had descended.

The Holy Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch and Confessor

28. From the interpretation of Psalm 15.[270]

But the [soul] of Jesus had a twofold experience. For it was in the place proper to human souls and it was also outside of the flesh, and lived and existed on its own. It is, therefore, rational and of the same substance as the souls of human beings, just as the flesh, which came from Mary, is of the same substance as the flesh of human beings.

29. By the same author from the discourse about the soul.[271]

What would they say when they saw the nursing of the infant, or the advance of age, or the passing of time, or the growth of his body? To omit the miracles performed on earth, let them see the raisings of the dead, the signs of the passion, the traces of the whips, the scars from the beatings, the pierced side, the marks of the nails, the pouring out of the blood, the signs of death, and, to sum it up, the very resurrection of his own body.

267. Methodius of Olympus, *About Martyrs. CPG* 1.1820.
268. See Phil 2.6.
269. Χάρισμα.
270. Eustathius of Antioch, *Commentary on Psalm 15* [*Ps 16 (LXX 15)*]. *CPG* 2.3390. *CPG* says that this is not a work of Eustathius.
271. Eustathius of Antioch, *About the Soul (against the Arians). CPG* 2.3353.

30. By the same author from the same discourse.[272]

And yet if one looks at the birth of the body, one would clearly find that he was born in Bethlehem and wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lived for some time in Egypt because of Herod the destroyer's plan, grew up and became a man in Nazareth.[273]

31. By the same author from the same discourse.[274]

For the tabernacle of God the Word, through which blessed Stephen saw the divine glory,[275] is not the same thing [as the Word himself].

32. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways."[276]

If, therefore, the Word began to exist at the time he passed through the mother's womb and wore the bodily framework, [101] it is clear that he was born of a woman. But if God the Word was from the very beginning with the Father, and we say that all things were made through him,[277] then the one who is and is the cause of all things that are made was not born of a woman, but is, by nature, God, self-sufficient, unlimited, and incomprehensible. But from a woman was born a human being, who was implanted in the virgin's womb by the Holy Spirit.

33. By the same author from the same discourse.[278]

For the truly pure and undefiled temple is the human tent surrounding the Word, where God clearly took up residence and lived. And we do not say this by way of conjecture, for it is the Son of this God by nature who foretells the destruction and resurrection of the temple and clearly instructs and teaches us,

272. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit. 273. See Lk 2, passim.
274. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit. 275. See Acts 7.56.
276. Eustathius of Antioch, *Discourse on the text, "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways" (Prv 8.22). CPG* 2.3354.
277. See Jn 1.1–3.
278. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.

when he says to the bloodthirsty Jews, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it up."[279]

34. By the same author from the same discourse.[280]

When the Word, therefore, had made the temple and put on the human being, he went among humans with a body, performed all kinds of miracles without being seen, and sent the apostles as preachers of the eternal kingdom.

35. By the same author from the interpretation of Psalm 92.[281]

If "the one who anoints" refers to God, whose throne [the psalmist] said was eternal, then it is obvious that the one who anoints was begotten from God and is clearly God by nature. But the one who was anointed received an acquired form of excellence, since he was adorned by a chosen temple through the divinity of the one who dwelt in him.

The Holy Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria and Confessor

36. From the defense made on behalf of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria.[282]

"I am the vine, you are the branches; my father is the vine-dresser."[283] For we are related to the Lord according to the body, and that is why he said, "I shall announce your name to my brothers."[284] And just as the branches are of the same substance as the vine and [come] from it, so we, who have the same kind of body

279. Jn 2.19.

280. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.

281. Eustathius of Antioch, *Commentary on Psalm 92. CPG* 2.3356. The psalm in question is ostensibly Psalm 93 (LXX 92), although it does not mention "an anointer" in Hebrew or Greek. References to anointing appear in Ps 45.7 (LXX 44.8) and Ps 89.20 (LXX 88.21).

282. Athanasius of Alexandria, *About the teaching of Dionysius* 10.4–5. *CPG* 2.2121.

283. Jn 15.5, 1.

284. Ps 22.22 (LXX 21.23).

as the Lord's body, [102] receive from his fullness, and have it as a root for resurrection and salvation. And the Father is called the vine-dresser, because through the Word he took care of the vine, which is the Lord's body.

37. By the same author from the same defense.[285]

The Lord was called a vine because of the bodily relationship with the branches, which we are.[286]

38. By the same author from the greater discourse about faith.[287]

The text, "In the beginning was the Word,"[288] clearly reveals the divinity, while the phrase, "The Word became flesh,"[289]shows the Lord's humanity.

39. By the same author from the same discourse.[290]

And the text, "He will wash his robe in wine,"[291] that is, the body, the garment of the divinity, in his own blood. . . .

40. By the same author from the same discourse.[292]

For the word "was"[293] refers to his divinity, while the phrase "became flesh"[294] refers to the body. "The Word became flesh,"[295] not by being reduced to flesh, but by wearing flesh. It is just as if someone would say that so and so became an old man, even though he was not born that way from the start, or that the soldier became a veteran, and thus became something that he was

285. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 12.2.
286. See Jn 15.5.
287. Athanasius of Alexandria, *The Greater Discourse about Faith* 2. *CPG* 2.2803. This work is attributed to Marcellus of Ancyra in *CPG*.
288. Jn 1.1.
289. Jn 1.14a.
290. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 75.
291. Gn 49.11.
292. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. See Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* p. 11, no. 40.
293. See Jn 1.1.
294. See Jn 1.14a.
295. Loc. cit.

not before. John says, "I was on the island of Patmos on the Lord's day,"[296] not because he came into being or was born there; but he said, "I was on Patmos" instead of "I was present." The Word was present in flesh in the same way, as Scripture said, "The Word became flesh."[297] Listen to him when he says, "I became as a ruined vessel,"[298] and, "I became as a person beyond help, free among the dead."[299]

41. By the same author from the letter to Epictetus.[300]

For who ever heard anything like this? Who taught it? Who learned it? "For a law will come from Sion, and a word of the Lord from Jerusalem."[301] Where did all this come from? What kind of hell blurted out the statements that the body from Mary is of the same substance as the divinity of the Word, or that the Word was changed into flesh, bones, hair, and a complete body? Who heard, in [103] a church or among Christians at all, that the Lord wore a body by adoption, not by nature?

42. By the same author from the same letter.[302]

Who would say that it was a Christian speaking, if they heard that the Word formed for himself a body that could suffer, not from Mary, but from his own substance? Who invented this wicked blasphemy, who can think and say that the person who states that the body of the Lord is from Mary no longer understands the divinity as a Trinity, but as a tetrad, so that those who think like this are saying that the flesh from Mary that the savior put on is from the substance of the Trinity? Finally where did people learn to spit out blasphemy like that just mentioned, so that they can say that the body is not more recent than the divinity of the Word, but was always coeternal with the Word, since it was formed out of the substance of Wisdom?

296. Rev 1.9.
297. Jn 1.14a.
298. Ps 31.12 (LXX 30.13).
299. Ps 88.4b–5 (LXX 87.5).
300. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Letter to Epictetus* 2. *CPG* 2.2095.
301. Is 2.3.
302. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 2.

43. By the same author from the same letter.[303]

The body from Mary was, therefore, according to divine Scripture, human by nature and a true body, since it was the same as ours; for Mary is our sister, because we are all from Adam. And no one would doubt this, if they recalled what Luke wrote.[304]

The Holy Basil, Bishop of Caesarea

44. From the interpretation of Psalm 59.[305]

All foreigners obeyed and were made subject to the yoke of Christ; for this reason he "imposes his sandal on Idumaea."[306] The divinity's sandal is the God-bearing flesh, by means of which he walked among human beings.

45. By the same author from the writing on the Holy Spirit to bishop Amphilochius.[307]

He switched and used the phrase "from whom" instead of "through whom," as Paul did when he said, for example, "born from a woman."[308] For he clearly made this distinction for us elsewhere, when he said that being born from the man is proper to the woman, while being born through the woman is proper to a man; he said this in the text, "As woman is from man, so man is through the woman."[309] But even as he indicated that there is no difference [104] in usage and also corrected, in passing, the error of those who think that the Lord's body is spiritual, he selected the more vivid expression, to show that the God-bearing flesh was formed from human material. For the phrase "through a woman" could have suggested the idea that the birth was simply a transient act; but the phrase "from a woman" should make sufficiently clear that the man who is born shares the nature of the woman who gave birth.

303. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 7.
304. Lk 24.39–40 follows in the original text of Athanasius.
305. Basil of Caesarea, *Homily on Psalm 59* [*Ps 60 (LXX 59)*]. *CPG* 2.2836.
306. See Ps 60.8 (LXX 59.10). Idumaea is the LXX name for Edom.
307. Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit* 5.12. *CPG* 2.2839.
308. Gal 4.4.
309. 1 Cor 11.12.

The Holy Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus

46. From the first exposition to Cledonius.[310]

If someone says that the flesh came down from heaven, but is not from here and from us, let him be accursed. For one must realize that texts such as "The second human being was from heaven,"[311] and "As is the man of heaven, so also are those who are of heaven,"[312] and "No one has gone up to heaven, except the one who came down from heaven, the Son of Man,"[313] and other passages like them, were spoken because of the union with the human being, just as it was said that all things came into being through Christ,[314] and that Christ dwells in our hearts,[315] not in accordance with the visible appearance of God, but in accordance with the intellectual understanding of God; for just as the names were mixed together, so too were the natures.

47. By the same author from the same discourse.[316]

Let us see, in their own words, their reason for becoming human or becoming flesh. If it was that God, who is otherwise incomprehensible, might be comprehended and mingle in the flesh, as though in a veil, with human beings, their characterization and dramatic performance are ingenious, to overlook the fact that God could have conversed with us in other ways, as [he did] in the past, through a burning bush[317] or in human form.[318] But if it was to wipe out the condemnation due to sin, by sanctifying like through like,[319] then just as there had to be flesh because of the condemnation of the flesh, and soul because of [the condemnation of] the soul, so too there had to be mind because of [the condemnation of] the mind, which not only fell in Adam, but was also primarily affected, as physicians say about illnesses. For that which received the commandment also did not keep the

310. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Letter* 101.30–31. *CPG* 2.3032.
311. 1 Cor 15.47. 312. 1 Cor 15.48.
313. Jn 3.13. 314. See Jn 1.3.
315. See Eph 3.17.
316. Gregory of Nazianzus, op. cit. 50–54.
317. See Ex 3.2. 318. See Gn 18.1–33.
319. See Rom 5.16 and 18.

commandment. And that which did not keep the commandment also dared to transgress. And that which transgressed [105] was also most in need of salvation. And that which needed salvation was also assumed. And so, whether they like it or not, it has now been shown, with, as they say, geometric necessity and proof that the mind was assumed.

But you act in such a way [as to suggest] that, if a person had a diseased eye and a bruised foot, you would heal the foot, but leave the eye uncured; or if an artist painted something badly, you would alter the painting, but ignore the artist, as though he had done a good job. And so, if they, despite the pressure of these arguments, have recourse to the idea that it is possible for God to save humanity even without a mind, then it is presumably also possible for God to do so without flesh, by a mere act of the will, just as God without a body makes and made all other things bodies.[320] So do away with both the mind and the flesh, to make your madness perfect.

The Holy Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa

48. From the discourse on Abraham.[321]

The Word, therefore, came down, not as he is in himself, but by becoming flesh[322]—not the form of God, but the form of the slave.[323] This, then, is the one who said that he could do nothing on his own,[324] because lack of power is a sign of weakness. For just as darkness is to light and death to life, so weakness is opposed to power. And yet Christ is God's power.[325] Power is usually not powerless, for, if power were weak, what would have power? When the Word proclaims that he can do nothing, therefore,

320. Theodoret's Greek text here is problematic. Gregory's original, followed by the PG text of Theodoret, reads simply ἀσωμάτως, which means "just as God makes and made all things without a body," i.e., without God having a body. All the manuscripts of the *Eranistes* read simply σωματικῶς, which means "just as God makes and made all things with a body," i.e., with all things having a body. The text translated here is based on a conjecture, suggested by Nigel G. Wilson, which would read σώματα ἀσωμάτως.

321. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit,* pp. 129.7–130.3. *CPG* Suppl.3192.

322. See Jn 1.14a.

323. See Phil 2.6–8.

324. See Jn 5.19.

325. See 1 Cor 1.24.

he is clearly not attributing lack of power to the divinity of the only begotten one, but is testifying that the lack of power is due to the weakness of our nature. And the flesh is weak, as Scripture says: "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."[326]

49. By the same author from the work on perfection of life.[327]

But the true lawgiver, of whom Moses was a type, formed for himself from our earth the tablets of [our] nature. For marriage did not produce his God-receiving flesh; but he was the engraver of his own flesh, which was inscribed by the finger of God.[328] For the Holy Spirit came upon the virgin, and the power of the most high overshadowed her.[329] [106] And when this took place, our nature could not be shattered again,[330] for it became immortal through the marks made by the finger.

50. By the same author from the treatise against Eunomius.[331]

We say, therefore, that when he said in his previous discourse that wisdom built a house for itself,[332] he is speaking enigmatically about the formation of the Lord's flesh. For true wisdom did not live in someone else's building, but built a home for itself from the virgin's body.

51. By the same author from the same work.[333]

The Word existed from eternity, but the flesh came into being in the last times,[334] and one should not reverse this and say that the flesh is eternal, or that the Word came into being in the last times.

326. Mt 26.41.
327. Gregory of Nyssa, *About the life of Moses,* 2.108.21–109.6. *CPG* 2.3159.
328. The tablets of the ten commandments are used here to symbolize the humanity of the Word made flesh.
329. See Lk 1.35.
330. See Ex 32.19.
331. Gregory of Nyssa, *Books against Eunomius* 3.1.44. *CPG* 2.3135.
332. See Prv 9.1.
333. Gregory of Nyssa, op. cit. 3.3.64.
334. See Heb 1.1–2.

52. By the same author from the same work.[335]

The phrase "created me"[336] refers, not to the divine and the uncompounded, but, as has been said, to that which had been assumed, in accordance with the divine plan, from our created nature.

53. By the same author from the first discourse on the beatitudes.[337]

"Who, although he was in God's form, did not consider being equal to God something to be grasped, but emptied himself and took a slave's form."[338] What is more poor in reference to God than the form of the slave? What is more humble in reference to the ruler of all than to enter willingly into communion with our poor nature? "The king of kings and Lord of Lords"[339] willingly puts on the form of slavery.

The Holy Flavian, Bishop of Antioch

54. From the homily on John the Baptist.[340]

Do not think of a bodily joining, therefore, and do not understand it as marital association. For your creator creates his bodily temple, which is born from you.

55. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me."[341]

[107] Hear him as he says, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, and this is why he anointed me."[342] You do not understand what you are reading, he says. For I come to you anointed by the Spir-

335. Gregory of Nyssa, op. cit. 3.1.50.
336. Prv 8.22.
337. Gregory of Nyssa, *First discourse on the beatitudes,* p. 84.10–16. *CPG* Suppl.3160–61.
338. Phil 2.6–7.
339. 1 Tm 6.15.
340. Flavian of Antioch, *Homily on John the Baptist. CPG* 2.3435.2.
341. Flavian of Antioch, *Discourse on the text, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me" (Lk 4. 18). CPG* 2.3435.3.
342. Lk 4.18.

it. And what is anointed by the Spirit is not the invisible nature, but that which is the same kind as us.

Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium

56. From the discourse on the text, "My Father is greater than I." [343]

From now on distinguish the natures, that of God and that of the human being. For a human being did not come from God through a loss, nor did God come from a human being through an addition. For I am speaking about God and a human being. When you attribute the sufferings to the flesh and the miracles to God, you are necessarily, though unwillingly, attributing the humble words to the human being from Mary, and the ones that are exalted and worthy of God to the Word who exists in the beginning.[344] And so I sometimes speak exalted words and at other times I use lowly ones, in order to reveal, through the lofty words, the excellence of the Word that dwells within, and to make known, through the humble words, the weakness of the humble flesh. Sometimes, therefore, I say that I am equal to the Father,[345] and at other times I say that the Father is greater.[346] I am not contradicting myself, but I am showing that I am God and a human being—God through the lofty words and a human being through the humble ones. But if you want to know how the Father is greater than I, I was talking from the flesh, not from the person of the divinity.

57. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "The Son cannot do anything on his own." [347]

What kind of Adam disobeyed in heaven? What kind of first formed man was formed from a heavenly body alongside the first formation? The one from the earth was formed in the be-

343. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment* 12 *(Discourse on the text, "My Father is Greater than I" [Jn 14.28]). CPG* 2.3245.12.

344. See Jn 1.1.

345. See Jn 10.30.

346. See Jn 14.28.

347. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment* 10a *(Discourse on the text, "The Son Cannot Do Anything on his Own" [Jn 5.19]). CPG* 2.3245.10a.

ginning, the one from the earth disobeyed, the one from the earth was assumed. Therefore, it was also the one from the earth that was saved, so that the meaning of the divine plan might thus be revealed as both true and necessary.

The Holy John, Bishop of Constantinople

[*108*] *58. From the discourse that he delivered when the Gothic elder spoke before him.*[348]

See what he does from the start. He puts on our weakened, subdued nature, so that by means of it he could fight and struggle; and from the start he totally rooted out the nature of madness.

59. By the same author from the discourse on the nativity.[349]

For is it not totally insane for them to put their gods into stones and cheap wooden statues, lock them up in a kind of prison, and still think that they are not acting or speaking shamefully, while at the same time they bring charges against us for saying that God, through the Holy Spirit, formed for himself a living temple, by means of which he helped the world? For if it is shameful for God to live in a human body, then, to the extent that wood and stone are less worthy than a human being, it is that much more disgraceful for God to dwell in wood and stone; unless, of course, they think that our race is of less value than these inanimate materials. They bring the substance of God down into stones and dogs, and many of the heretics bring it into other things even more disreputable than these; but we would in no way put up with just hearing any of this.[350] We say that Christ assumed from the virgin's womb flesh that was pure, holy, unblemished, and free of all sin, and formed his own vessel.[351]

348. John Chrysostom, *Homily* [*9*] *delivered after the Gothic elder* 3. *CPG* 2.4441.9.

349. John Chrysostom, *On the nativity* 6. *CPG* 2.4334.

350. See Eph 5.12.

351. *PGL* (p. 1236) says that the basic meanings of σκεῦος are: vessel, instrument, hive, body (of animals); it also says that it can refer to "human nature as a full entity." The latter reflects a modern theological interpretation that may be anachronistic in this text.

60. And shortly after.[352]

We say that God the Word formed for himself a holy temple and through it brought the heavenly way of life into our life.

61. By the same author from the discourse: that Christ's humble words and actions were not due to weakness in power, but to differences in a divine plan.[353]

Why, then, did both he as well as the apostles say many humble things about himself? The first and most important reason was the fact that he had put on flesh and wanted all people, both then and in the future, to believe that it was a real nature, not some kind of shadow or simply the visible shape. For even though both he as well as the apostles had said so many humble and human things about himself, the devil still had the power to persuade some poor, wretched [109] people to deny the meaning of the divine plan, to dare to say that he did not take flesh, and to destroy the whole basis of God's love for humanity; how many would have fallen into this pit, if he had said none of this?

Orthodox. So as not to wear out your ears with sheer numbers, I have offered you a few quotations from many preachers of the truth. And these should suffice to reveal the meaning of what praiseworthy men think. And now it would be your turn to express your opinion about what has been said.

Eranistes. They have all spoken harmoniously, and those who tend the field in the West agree with those who cultivate the East;[354] but I did observe great diversity in their words.

Orthodox. These men were successors of the divine apostles. Some even enjoyed the privilege of hearing their holy words and of seeing those admirable men; many were adorned with the crown of martyrdom. Do you think it is right, then, to speak blasphemy against them?

352. John Chrysostom, op. cit. 6.

353. John Chrysostom, *On the consubstantial (= Homily 7 on the incomprehensible nature of God)* 3. *CPG* 2.4320.

354. In describing the work of the bishops Theodoret uses two verbs that refer to the nurture of plants.

Eranistes. I'm afraid to do that, but I do not accept the great diversity.

Orthodox. Well then, I'll again provide you with an unexpected remedy. For I shall bring in Apollinarius, one of the teachers of your amazing heresy, and I shall show that he understood the text, "The Word became flesh"[355] in the same way as the holy fathers. Hear, therefore, what he wrote about this in the book, *A Summary.*[356]

Apollinarius

62. From the book, A Summary.[357]

If one is not changed into that which one assumes, and Christ assumed flesh, then he was not changed into flesh.

63. And he again immediately goes on to add:[358]

For through the body he gave himself to us in a relationship, in order to save [us]. But that which saves is far more excellent than that which is saved; he is, therefore, far [110] more excellent than us, even when he is in a body. But he would not have been more excellent if he had changed into flesh.

64. And soon after he says this:[359]

The uncompounded is one, but the composite cannot be one. Anyone who says that he became flesh would be predicating change of the one Word. But if the composite is also one, as a human being is, then whoever says, "The Word became flesh"[360] because of the union with flesh is saying "one" according to composition.

355. Jn 1.14a.
356. The Greek title is κατὰ κεφάλαιον.
357. Apollinarius, *To Diodore or the book "A Summary."* *CPG* 2.3657.
358. Apollinarius, op. cit. 359. Ibid.
360. Jn 1.14a.

65. And after a brief interval he again says this:[361]

> Becoming flesh is emptying,[362] and emptying revealed, not a Son of God, but a Son of Man, who emptied himself by the garment[363] [he took], not by a change.[364]

Orthodox. Notice that the teacher of your beliefs also introduced the word "garment." And yet:

66. And in the short treatise "On Faith" he also says:[365]

> We believe, therefore, that, while the divinity remained unchanged, it became flesh for the renewal of humanity. For no change, alteration, or limitation affected the holy power of God.

67. And soon after:[366]

> We adore God, who assumed flesh from the holy virgin, and who was, therefore, a human being according to the flesh, but God according to the Spirit.

68. And in another exposition he says this:[367]

> We confess that the Son of God became a Son of Man, not in name, but in reality, by assuming flesh from Mary the virgin.

Eranistes. I didn't realize that Apollinarius thought this, for I had different ideas about him.

Orthodox. See then, you have learned that in addition to the prophets, the apostles, and those who were officially appointed teachers of the world after them, Apollinarius, the writer of heretical foolishness, also confesses that God the Word is im-

361. Apollinarius, op. cit.
362. Σάρκωσις κένωσις.
363. Περιβολή. Cf. Theodoret's use of this word on pp. 45–46, 48, above.
364. See Phil 2.7.
365. Apollinarius, *The faith in detail* 11. *CPG* 2.3645.
366. Apollinarius, op. cit. This quotation appears to be from a different, unknown work, not the writing previously cited.
367. Apollinarius, *The faith in detail* 11. *CPG* 2.3645.

mutable, and he does not say that he changed into flesh, but that he assumed flesh; he even made this confession often, [111] as you have heard. Do not struggle, therefore, to surpass your teacher in blasphemy. "For a disciple is not above the master," as the Lord said.[368]

Eranistes. I too confess that God the Word is immutable and assumed flesh. For it is sheer madness to oppose so many witnesses.

Orthodox. Does it seem like a good idea, then, to answer the remaining questions as well?

Eranistes. Let us put off the inquiry into these issues until tomorrow.

Orthodox. Let us end our discussion, therefore, and separate, and let us remember what we have confessed.

368. Mt 10.24.

UNMIXED
DIALOGUE TWO

ERANISTES. I came, just as I promised, and now you have to do one of two things: Either answer the questions under discussion, or agree with what we say.

Orthodox. I accepted the challenge, because I thought it was right and just. But we should first recall to mind where we left the discussion yesterday and what conclusion the dialogue reached.

Eranistes. I'll recall to mind the way it ended. For I remember that we acknowledged that God the Word was immutable and assumed flesh, but was not changed into flesh.

Orthodox. You seem to be satisfied with these conclusions, since you recalled them accurately.

Eranistes. I already said before that anyone who argued with so many outstanding teachers was quite clearly mad. But Apollinarius above all caused me embarrassment by saying the same as the orthodox, even though he was clearly moving in the opposite direction in his discourses about the Incarnation.

Orthodox. So we do say that God the Word assumed flesh?

Eranistes. Definitely.

Orthodox. What do we understand by flesh: body alone, as Arius and Eunomius think, or body and soul?

Eranistes. Body and soul.

Orthodox. What type of soul: the rational soul, or the one that some call the vegetative or life-giving soul? For the fictitious claptrap in Apollinarius's writings forces us to ask unnecessary questions.

Eranistes. Does Apollinarius mention a distinction of souls?

Orthodox. He says that the human being is composed of three parts: the body, the life-giving soul, and finally the rational soul, which he calls mind. But divine Scripture knows one soul, not

two, and [113] the formation of the first human being clearly teaches us this. For it says, "God took dust from the earth, formed the man, and breathed a breath of life into his face, and the man became a living soul."[1] And in the Gospels the Lord said to the holy disciples, "Do not be afraid of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; fear rather the one who can destroy both the soul and the body in Gehenna."[2] And when the most divine Moses had counted the people who came down to Egypt and had quoted the number with which each tribal leader entered, he added, "All the souls that entered Egypt were seventy-five";[3] he counted one soul for each of those who had entered. And in Troas, when everyone thought that Eutychus had died, the divine Apostle said, "Do not be disturbed, for his soul is in him."[4]

Eranistes. It has clearly been shown that each human being has one soul.

Orthodox. But Apollinarius says there are two, and that God the Word assumed the irrational soul and was himself in the flesh in place of the rational one. That is why I asked what type of soul you say was assumed with the body.

Eranistes. I say it was the rational soul, for I follow divine Scripture.

Orthodox. Do we say, therefore, that God the Word assumed the complete form of the slave?[5]

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. And this is absolutely correct. For the whole first man became subject to sin and destroyed the characteristics of the divine image, and the race followed its first ancestor; it was therefore out of necessity that the creator, in his desire to renew the image that had been obscured, assumed the whole nature and imprinted in it much better characteristics than the former ones.

1. Gn 2.7.
2. Mt 10.28.
3. Gn 46.27 (LXX). The Hebrew text says seventy.
4. Acts 20.10.
5. See Phil 2.7.

Eranistes. This is true. But I think that we should first clarify the meaning of the words, so that the dialogue may proceed smoothly and nothing doubtful may intervene to cut off the discussion.

Orthodox. Well said. Now ask whatever you like.

Eranistes. What should we call Jesus Christ: a human being or God?

[114] *Orthodox.* Neither one without the other, but both at once. For when God the Word became a human being, he was named Jesus Christ. For [Scripture] says, "You shall call his name Jesus; for he will save his people from their sins";[6] and "Today is born for you Christ the Lord in the city of David."[7] These are the words of angels. But before becoming human [the Word] was called God, Son of God, only begotten, Lord, God the Word, and creator. For "In the beginning," it says, "was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God";[8] and "All things were made through him";[9] and "He was life";[10] and "He was the true light that comes into the world and enlightens every human being."[11] And there are many other statements like these that reveal the divine nature. But after becoming human, the same person was named Jesus and Christ.

Eranistes. And so Jesus the Lord is only God.

Orthodox. Do you hear that God the Word became human and call him only God?

Eranistes. Since he became human without being changed, but remained what he was, one must call him what he was.

Orthodox. God the Word was, is, and will be immutable, but became human by assuming a human nature. We must, therefore, confess each nature, the one that assumed and the one that was assumed.

Eranistes. The name should come from the better one.

Orthodox. Is the human being, I mean, the living being, simple or composite?

Eranistes. Composite.

6. Mt 1.21.
7. Lk 2.11.
8. Jn 1.1.
9. Jn 1.3.
10. Jn 1.4.
11. Jn 1.9.

Orthodox. Of what is it composed?

Eranistes. Of soul and body.

Orthodox. Which of these natures is better?

Eranistes. The soul is obviously better, because it is rational, immortal, and power over the living being has been entrusted to it. But the body is mortal and perishable, and, when separated from the soul, is irrational and dead.

Orthodox. So divine Scripture should have named the living being in terms of the better nature.

[115] *Eranistes.* It does, since it called those who entered Egypt souls. For Israel, it says, came down into Egypt with seventy-five souls.[12]

Orthodox. Did divine Scripture name anyone in terms of the body?

Eranistes. Those who were slaves to the flesh it called flesh. For it says, "God said, 'My spirit will not remain in these people, because they are flesh.'"[13]

Orthodox. Did it call anyone flesh apart from an accusation?

Eranistes. I don't remember.

Orthodox. Then I'll remind you and I'll teach you that it called very holy people flesh. So answer this: What would you call the apostles, spiritual or people of flesh?

Eranistes. Spiritual, and leaders and teachers of the spiritual.

Orthodox. Listen, then, to the words of the divinely inspired Paul: "When the one who separated me from my mother's womb and called me through his grace was pleased to reveal his Son in me, so that I might preach him among the nations, I did not immediately consult with flesh and blood, nor did I go up to those who were apostles before me."[14] In referring to the apostles in this way, he wasn't criticizing them at that time, was he?

Eranistes. In no way.

Orthodox. Wasn't he rather naming them in terms of the visible nature, and comparing the call through human beings to the call from heaven?

12. See Gn 46.27 (LXX). See n. 3, above.
13. Gn 6.3.
14. Gal 1.15–17.

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. Then listen to David the hymn-writer as he sings and says to God, "All flesh will come to you";[15] and hear the prophet Isaiah, who foretells that, "All flesh will see the salvation of our God."[16]

Eranistes. It has been shown clearly that even apart from accusation divine Scripture names human nature in terms of the flesh.

Orthodox. Now I'll also show you the other side.

Eranistes. What other side?

[116] *Orthodox.* That even when it accuses certain people, divine Scripture names them in terms only of the soul.

Eranistes. And where will you find this in divine Scripture?

Orthodox. Hear the Lord God speaking through the prophet Ezekiel: "The soul that sins will itself die."[17] And through the mighty Moses also he says, "The soul that sins";[18] and again "It will happen that every soul that does not listen to that prophet will be utterly destroyed."[19] And you can find many other statements like these.

Eranistes. This has been proved.

Orthodox. If there exists, therefore, a certain natural union and joining together of creatures, fellow-slaves, and contemporaries, divine Scripture customarily names this living being, not only in terms of its better nature alone, but also in terms of both the lesser and the greater. How can you rebuke us, then, for naming Christ the Lord a human being at the same time that we confess he is God, especially since many factors make this absolutely necessary?

Eranistes. And what makes it necessary for you to name Christ the savior a human being?

Orthodox. The differences and the absolute contradictions among heretical teachings.

Eranistes. Which teachings contradict one another?

Orthodox. The teaching of Arius contradicts that of Sabellius, since the former divides the substances, while the latter blends

15. Ps 65.2 (LXX 64.3).
16. Is 52.10.
17. Ezek 18.4.
18. Lv 5.1 (LXX).
19. Dt 18.19 and Nm 9.13 (LXX).

the subsistent entities. Arius introduces three substances, while Sabellius speaks of one subsistent entity instead of three. Now tell me how each disease must be cured: by applying one remedy to both diseases or the appropriate one to each?

Eranistes. The appropriate one to each.

Orthodox. So we'll try to persuade Arius to confess the one substance of the Holy Trinity, and we'll offer proofs of this from divine Scripture.

Eranistes. This is the thing to do.

Orthodox. But when we argue with Sabellius, we'll do the opposite. [117] For we won't say a word about the substance, because he too confesses one substance.

Eranistes. Obviously.

Orthodox. But we'll strive to heal the sickness of his thought.

Eranistes. Definitely.

Orthodox. And what sickness did we say he has?

Eranistes. We said that he is defective with respect to the subsistent entities.

Orthodox. So when he speaks of one subsistent entity of the Trinity, we'll show him that divine Scripture proclaims three subsistent entities.

Eranistes. This is the correct approach; but we have wandered from the topic under discussion.

Orthodox. Not at all. For we're gathering proof about it, and you'll see this immediately. Tell me, therefore, whether you think that all the heresies named for Christ confess both the divinity and the humanity of Christ.

Eranistes. I do not.

Orthodox. Some confess only the divinity, and others only the humanity.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. And others confess a part of the humanity.

Eranistes. I think this is true. But you should reveal to us the names of those who hold each of these opinions, so that the investigation may proceed more clearly.

Orthodox. I'll do this. Simon, Menander, Cerdon, Marcion, Valentinus, Basilides, Bardesanes, and Manes flatly denied the humanity of Christ. Artemon, Theodotus, Sabellius, Paul of Samosata, Marcellus, and Photinus fell into the diametrically

opposite blasphemy. For they proclaim that Christ is only a human being and deny the divinity that exists from eternity. Arius and Eunomius call the divinity of the only begotten created and say [118] that he assumed only a body. Apollinarius confesses the assumption of a body with a soul, but by his own words he deprives the rational soul of glory and salvation. Here, then, is the discrepancy among these corrupt teachings. And you, tell us as a lover of truth yourself whether we have to engage in a dialogue with these people, or must rather ignore them as they plunge into the pit and let them go to the devil.

Eranistes. Contempt for those who are sick is an act of inhumanity.

Orthodox. So we should have compassion and do our best to offer a cure.

Eranistes. Definitely.

Orthodox. If you were skilled at curing bodies, then, and many people with various symptoms, such as running eyes, damaged ears, toothaches, strained and torn muscles, and an excess of bile or phlegm, came to you and asked you to heal them, what would you do? Tell me. Would you prepare a single remedy for all of them or one that is appropriate to each condition?

Eranistes. Obviously [I would apply] to each one the suitable remedy that could heal it.

Orthodox. You would, therefore, cool hot illnesses, but warm the cold; you would relax the tense, but strengthen the weak with bracing medicines; you would dry the flaccid, but moisten the dry; in this way you would expel the diseases and restore the good health that they had driven out.

Eranistes. The established practice of the art of healing recommends this approach to healing; for opposites, they say, cure opposites.

Orthodox. If you were a gardener, would you provide the same care to all the plants, or would you offer the pomegranate tree the handling proper to it and the fig tree its appropriate care? And in the same way would you give the pear tree, the apple tree, and the cultivated vines the right treatment for them? In short, would you give each plant care that is suitable for it?

Eranistes. Each plant obviously needs its own proper type of care.

Orthodox. And if you were a qualified shipbuilder and noticed that the mast-holder needed restoration, would you give it the care proper to the rudders or that appropriate to the mast-holder?

Eranistes. These are obvious cases. For each thing requires the proper type of [119] care, whether it is a plant, a member of a body, pieces of furniture, or parts of a ship.

Orthodox. But isn't it wicked, then, to provide appropriate remedies for a body and for things without souls, but not to follow this rule of healing in the case of souls?

Eranistes. It is extremely unjust; and it is filled not only with injustice, but also with stupidity. For those who act differently are not skilled in the art of healing.

Orthodox. And so when we talk with each heresy, shall we apply the remedy proper to it?

Eranistes. Definitely.

Orthodox. And the proper cure consists in adding what is lacking and taking away what is superfluous. Is that correct?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. When we try to heal Photinus, Marcellus, and their followers, therefore, what should we add, to carry out the rule of healing?

Eranistes. The confession of Christ's divinity, since they lack this.

Orthodox. But we shall say nothing to them about the humanity, since they confess that Christ the Lord is a human being.

Eranistes. That is correct.

Orthodox. But when we talk with Arius and Eunomius about the only begotten one's becoming human, what should we persuade them to add to their confession?

Eranistes. The assumption of the soul, since they say that God the Word only assumed a body.

Orthodox. And what is Apollinarius missing so that he can make his teaching on the Incarnation accurate?

Eranistes. He is not to separate the mind from the soul, but must confess that the rational soul was assumed along with the body.

Orthodox. Shall we, therefore, discuss this with him?

Eranistes. Definitely.

Orthodox. What about Marcion, Valentinus, Manes, and their followers? What do we say that they partially confess and totally deny?

[120] *Eranistes.* That they claimed to believe in the divinity of Christ; but they do not accept the teaching about the humanity.

Orthodox. We shall try to persuade them, therefore, to accept the teaching about the humanity and not to call the divine plan an illusion.

Eranistes. That is the proper thing to do.

Orthodox. We shall tell them, therefore, that one must call Christ not only God, but also a human being.

Eranistes. That is correct.

Orthodox. And if we refuse to call Christ a human being, how can we order others to do so? For they will not listen to our exhortation, but will convict us of thinking as they do.

Eranistes. And how are we thinking as they do, if we confess that God the Word assumed both flesh and a rational soul?

Orthodox. Alright then, if we confess the reality, please tell me why we avoid the words?

Eranistes. We should name the savior in terms of the more worthy elements.

Orthodox. Keep this rule, then, and do not call him crucified, or risen from the dead, or other names like this.

Eranistes. But these terms refer to the sufferings that bring salvation; denying the sufferings does away with salvation.

Orthodox. And the name "human being" is a name that refers to nature; keeping silent about it denies the nature; denying the nature does away with the sufferings; and doing away with the sufferings destroys salvation.

Eranistes. I place a high value on knowing the assumed nature; but calling the savior of the world a human being diminishes the glory of the Lord.

Orthodox. Do you think, then, that you are wiser than Peter and Paul, and even the savior himself? For the Lord said to the Jews, [121] "Why do you seek to kill me, a man who has spoken to you the truth that I heard from my Father?"[20] And he often called himself a Son of Man. And when the wholly blessed Peter

20. Jn 8.40 and 7.19.

spoke to the Jewish people, he said, "Men of Israel, listen to these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by God for you."[21] And when blessed Paul presented the saving proclamation to the bystanders on the Areopagus, in addition to many other things he also said this, "God overlooked the times of ignorance and now orders all people everywhere to repent; for he has determined a day on which he is going to judge the world in righteousness, in a man whom he selected, instilling confidence in all by raising him from the dead."[22] Whoever rejects the name that was both given and proclaimed by the Lord and the apostles, therefore, has assumed that he is wiser than the great teachers and even than the very source of the wisest teachers.

Eranistes. They offered this teaching to unbelievers; today, however, most of the world has come to believe.

Orthodox. But there are still Jews, Greeks, and countless heretical sects, and we must offer each of them the appropriate teaching. And even if we were all of the same opinion, tell me what harm is there in confessing that Christ is God and a human being? Or don't we see in him a perfect divinity and a humanity that also lacks nothing?

Eranistes. We have often confessed this.

Orthodox. Then please tell me why we are doing away with something we have often confessed.

Eranistes. I feel that it is superfluous to call Christ a human being, especially when a believer is speaking with a believer.

Orthodox. Do you think that the divine Apostle is a believer?

Eranistes. Yes, and the teacher of all believers.

Orthodox. Do you feel that Timothy deserves this title?

Eranistes. Yes, for he is Paul's disciple and a teacher of others.

Orthodox. Then listen to the teacher of the teachers as he writes [122] to his most perfect disciple: "One God, and one mediator between God and human beings, a human being, Jesus Christ, who gave himself as a ransom for all,"[23] and stop

21. Acts 2.22.
22. Acts 17.30–31.
23. 1 Tm 2.5–6.

chattering and imposing laws on us about divine names. Here the name of mediator itself reveals divinity and humanity. He was not called a mediator because he was only God, for how could he have mediated between us and God if he had nothing in common with us? But since he was joined to the Father as God with the same substance, and since he was joined to us as a human being because he took from us the form of the slave,[24] he has rightly been called a mediator, because he joined diverse realities in himself through the union of the natures, i.e., the divinity and the humanity.

Eranistes. Wasn't Moses in fact called a mediator, even though he was only a human being?

Orthodox. He was a type of the reality, but the type does not have everything that the reality has.[25] He was not, therefore, God by nature, but was nevertheless called God in order to fulfill the type. For [God] says, "Behold, I have made you a god for Pharaoh";[26] and so immediately, as though for a god, [God] also designated a prophet. For [God] says, "your brother Aaron will be a prophet for you."[27] The reality, however, is both God by nature and a human being by nature.

Eranistes. Who would call something that does not have the exact characteristics of the original a type?

Orthodox. You apparently don't call the imperial images images of the emperor?

Eranistes. I certainly do.

Orthodox. And yet they do not have everything the original has. For in the first place they lack both soul and reason. Second, they have no internal organs, such as heart, stomach, liver, and the others attached to them. Third, they have the form of the senses, but not their actual powers; for they do not hear, speak, or see, and they do not write, walk, or perform other human activities. But they are nevertheless called imperial images.

24. See Phil 2.7.

25. See the Introduction, p. 21, for a discussion of Theodoret's use of typology and the language involved.

26. Ex 7.1a.

27. Ex 7.1b.

In the same way Moses was a mediator and Christ was a mediator, the former as an image and type, the latter as reality. So that I may show you this more clearly and from another source, recall for me the words spoken about Melchizedek in the letter to the Hebrews.

[123] *Eranistes.* Which words?

Orthodox. The ones in which the divine Apostle, comparing the Levitical priesthood to the priesthood of Christ, likened Melchizedek to Christ the Lord in other aspects, but said that the Lord possessed the priesthood according to the order of Melchizedek.[28]

Eranistes. I think the divine Apostle says the following:

> For this Melchizedek, king of Salem, priest of the most high God, met Abraham as he returned from slaughtering the kings and he blessed him; and Abraham gave him a tenth of all he possessed. He is interpreted first as king of righteousness, and then as king of Salem, that is, king of peace; he is without a father, without a mother, and without a family tree; he has neither a beginning of days nor an end of life. And having been compared to the Son of God, he remains a priest forever.[29]

I think you were speaking about these words.

Orthodox. I was speaking about them, and I praise you because you did not abridge the text, but cited it in full. Tell me, then, whether each of these details applies to Melchizedek by nature and in reality.

Eranistes. Who is bold enough to rearrange what the divine Apostle put in order?

Orthodox. Do you say, then, that these details apply to Melchizedek by nature?

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. Do you say that he is a human being, or that he assumed another nature?

Eranistes. He is a human being.

Orthodox. Is he begotten or unbegotten?

Eranistes. You are asking very strange questions.

28. See Heb 6.20; see Gn 14.17–21 for the Old Testament source.
29. Heb 7.1–3.

Orthodox. It is your fault, because you are obviously fighting against the truth; answer the question.

Eranistes. One alone is unbegotten—the one who is God and Father.

Orthodox. Do we say, then, that Melchizedek is begotten?

Eranistes. He is begotten.

Orthodox. But the passage about him teaches the opposite. For remember what you recited just now: "He is without a father, without a mother, and without a family tree; he has neither a beginning of days nor an end of life."[30] How, then, can the words [124] "without a father and without a mother" apply to him; how can the statement that he did not take a beginning of existence or receive an end apply to him? For these attributes transcend human nature.

Eranistes. They do in fact transcend the limits of human nature.

Orthodox. Well then, shall we say that the Apostle lied?

Eranistes. Absolutely not.

Orthodox. Then how can the Apostle give true testimony and at the same time apply to Melchizedek qualities that transcend nature?

Eranistes. The passage is very unclear and in great need of a lengthy explanation.

Orthodox. The understanding of the thought is readily available to those who are willing to pay attention. For after the divine Apostle said, "He is without father, without mother, and without a family tree; he has neither a beginning of days nor an end of life,"[31] he added, "Having been compared to the Son of God, he remains a priest forever."[32] And he clearly taught us that Christ the Lord is the original for Melchizedek in matters that transcend human nature, while Melchizedek is an image and a type of Christ the Lord; for he said that Melchizedek was compared to the Son of God. But let us continue our search in the following way. Do you say that the Lord had a father according to the flesh?

30. Heb 7.3.
31. Heb 7.3a.
32. Heb 7.3b.

Eranistes. Certainly not.

Orthodox. Why?

Eranistes. Because he was born of the holy virgin alone.

Orthodox. It was, therefore, correct to say that he was without a father?

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. Do you say that he had a mother according to the divine nature?

Eranistes. Absolutely not.

Orthodox. Because he was born of the Father alone before time?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. He was, therefore, also said to be without a family tree, because his birth from the Father was indescribable. For the prophet says, "Who will declare his generation?"[33]

[125] *Eranistes.* What you say is true.

Orthodox. It is therefore proper for him to have neither a beginning of days nor an end of life, for he has no beginning and is indestructible; in a word, he is eternal and coeternal with the Father.

Eranistes. I also believe this is true. But we must look further, to see how this applies to the noble Melchizedek.

Orthodox. It applies to him as an image and a type; but the image, as we said before, does not have everything the original has. These details are therefore proper to the savior by nature and in reality, but the narrative of the ancient history adapted them to Melchizedek.[34] For it taught us about the father of the patriarch Abraham, the father and the mother of Isaac, and also of Jacob and his children, and it detailed the genealogy of those who lived long ago; but it did not mention the father or the mother of Melchizedek, nor did it show how to trace his family from one of Noah's children, so that he might be a type of the one who was truly without a mother and a father. The divine Apostle taught us this interpretation, for in the same passage he also added this, "The one who did not share their fami-

33. Is 53.8 (LXX).

34. See Gn 5.1–32 and 11.10–32.

ly tree received a tithe from Abraham and blessed the one who had the promises."[35]

Eranistes. Since divine Scripture did not mention his parents, can one say that he is without a father and a mother?

Orthodox. If he actually were without a father and a mother, he would not be an image, but reality. And yet, since he does not have these qualities by nature, but according to the divine plan of divine Scripture, he reveals the type of the reality.

Eranistes. The image should possess the obvious features of the original.

Orthodox. Is the human being called an image of God?

Eranistes. It is not an image of God, but it was made according to the image of God.[36]

Orthodox. Then, listen to the Apostle, who says, "For a man should not cover his head, since he is an image and glory of God."[37]

Eranistes. Let's suppose that he is an image of God.

Orthodox. According to what you say, then, the human being should have preserved [126] the obvious features of the original and should be neither a creature, nor a composite, nor limited. Like the original, it should have created out of nothing, produced everything through a word and without effort, and in addition to this, it should not have fallen ill, felt sorrow or anger, or committed sin, but should have been immortal and incorruptible, and exactly the same as the original.

Eranistes. The human being is not an image of God according to every detail.

Orthodox. It is true that, except for the areas in which you admit that the human being is an image, you will surely find it differs immensely from the reality.

Eranistes. I agree.

Orthodox. Think about this as well: The divine Apostle called the Son an image of the Father, for he said, "who is an image of the invisible God."[38]

Eranistes. So what? Isn't the Son exactly the same as the Father?

35. Heb 7.6.
36. See Gn 1.27.
37. 1 Cor 11.7.
38. Col 1.15.

Orthodox. The Son is not Father, unbegotten, or uncaused.

Eranistes. If he were, he wouldn't be Son.

Orthodox. So I spoke the truth when I said that the image is not exactly the same as the original.

Eranistes. You did.

Orthodox. It was in this sense, then, that the divine Apostle said that Melchizedek was compared to the Son of God.

Eranistes. Let's grant that the words "without a father, without a mother, and without a family tree" mean what you said; how are we to understand the passage, "having neither a beginning of days nor an end of life"?[39]

Orthodox. In composing the ancient genealogy,[40] the divinely inspired Moses taught us that Adam had lived a certain number of years when he begot Seth, and that, after living a certain number of years more, he reached the end of his life. And he spoke in the same way about Seth, Enos, and the others. But he said nothing about the moment of Melchizedek's birth and the end of his life. According to the narration, therefore, he has neither a beginning of days nor an end of life; according to the reality, however, the only begotten Son of God did not begin to exist and will not have an end.

Eranistes. I agree.

[127] *Orthodox.* With respect to those qualities that are proper to God and truly divine, therefore, Melchizedek is a type of Christ the Lord; but with respect to the office of high priest, which pertains to human beings rather than to God, Christ the Lord became high priest according to the order of Melchizedek. For Melchizedek was a high priest of nations, and Christ the Lord offered the all-holy and saving sacrifice on behalf of all human beings.

Eranistes. We have lavished a great deal of talk on this topic.

Orthodox. We should have used even more, as you know; for you said that the passage is hard to understand.

Eranistes. Let's return to the issue that was before us.

Orthodox. What were we looking at?

39. Heb 7.3.
40. See Gn 5.1–32 and 11.10–32.

Eranistes. When I said that we should not call Christ a human being, but only God, you introduced many other witnesses as well as those words of the Apostle that he put in his letter to Timothy, "one God and one mediator between God and human beings, a human being Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all."[41]

Orthodox. I remember why we turned aside to this digression. For when I said that the very name of mediator reveals the two natures of our savior, you yourself said that Moses had also been called a mediator, even though he happened to be only a human being, not God and a human being. So I was forced to go through these details, to show that the type does not have everything that the original has. Tell me, therefore, if you confess that Christ the savior must also be called a human being.

Eranistes. I call him God; for he is Son of God.

Orthodox. If you call him God because you were taught that he is Son of God, then call him a human being too, since he often called himself a Son of Man.

Eranistes. The name "human being" does not apply to him in the same way as the name "God."

Orthodox. Because it is false, or for another reason?

Eranistes. The name "God" is a name that pertains to the nature, while the designation "human being" pertains to the divine plan.

[128] *Orthodox.* Do we say that the divine plan is true, or some kind of false illusion?

Eranistes. It's true.

Orthodox. So if the grace of the divine plan is true, and if we call the Incarnation of God the Word a divine plan, then the name "human being" is also true, since [the Word] was called a human being after he assumed a human nature.

Eranistes. He was called a human being before the passion, but after the passion he was no longer [given that designation].

Orthodox. And yet after the passion and the resurrection the divine Apostle wrote to Timothy the letter in which he called

41. 1 Tm 2.5–6.

Christ the savior a human being.[42] After the passion and the resurrection, while preaching in Athens, he called him a man.[43] After the passion and the resurrection he writes to the Corinthians and cries out, "For since death was through a human being, resurrection from the dead was also through a human being."[44] And to teach more clearly about whom he is talking, he added, "For just as all die in Adam, so also all will be made alive again in Christ."[45] After the passion and the resurrection, while divine Peter was speaking with the Jews, he called him a man.[46] After the assumption into heaven, as the gloriously triumphant Stephen was being stoned, he said to the Jews, "Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God."[47] Let us not, therefore, think ourselves wiser than the great preachers of the truth.

Eranistes. I do not consider myself wiser than the holy teachers, but I do not find the name used.

Orthodox. How would you persuade those who deny the Lord's humanity, such as the Marcionites, the Manichaeans, and others who suffer from this disease, to confess the proclaimed truth? Wouldn't you bring forward many witnesses like these and teach that Christ the Lord is not only God, but also a human being?

Eranistes. Perhaps one would have to take this approach with them.

Orthodox. Then please tell me why you don't teach the [129] true doctrine to believers? Have you lost sight of the apostolic legislation that commands us to be ready to offer a defense?[48] Let's continue our investigation along this line: Does the best general only engage the enemy, shoot arrows, hurl spears, and break through their column, or does he arm the soldiers, line them up, and stir their spirits to courage?

Eranistes. He should much rather do the latter.

Orthodox. That's because the general's function is to rouse the soldiers to stand and fight, not to face danger and stand in the

42. See 1 Tm 2.5–6.
43. See Acts 17.31.
44. 1 Cor 15.21.
45. 1 Cor 15.22.
46. See Acts 2.22.
47. Acts 7.56.
48. See 1 Pt 3.15.

battle line himself, while allowing them to fall asleep around him.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. The divine Paul also does this. For he was writing to believers when he said, "Take up the armor of God, so that you can withstand the cunning tricks of the devil."[49] He also said, "Stand therefore with your loins girt in truth,"[50] and so on. And remember what we said before: The doctor supplies the quality that is missing in nature. For if he should find excessive cold, he adds warmth, and so on with everything else. The Lord also did this.

Eranistes. Where will you show me that the Lord also did this?

Orthodox. In the divine Gospels.

Eranistes. Show me, then, and keep your promise.

Orthodox. What did the Jews think that Christ the savior was?

Eranistes. A human being.

Orthodox. They had absolutely no idea that he was also God?

Eranistes. Correct.

Orthodox. But shouldn't those who did not know this have learned it?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. Listen to him, then, when he says to them, "I have shown you many works from my Father; for which of them are you stoning me?"[51] And when they said, "We are not stoning you for a good work, but for blasphemy, because you, who are a human being, make yourself God,"[52] he added, "It has been written in your law, 'I have said, "You are gods."' If he called those to whom the word of God came 'gods,' and if the Scripture cannot be annulled, [130] do you say of the one whom the Father sanctified and sent into the world, 'You blaspheme,' because I said, 'I am God's Son'? If I do not do my father's works, do not believe me. But if I do them, even if you do not want to believe me, believe my works, so that you may know and believe that I am in the Father, and the Father is in me."[53]

Eranistes. With the words you just read you showed that the

49. Eph 6.13 and 11.
50. Eph 6.14.
51. Jn 10.32.
52. Jn 10.33.
53. Jn 10.34–38.

Lord revealed himself to the Jewish people as God, not as a human being.

Orthodox. That's right, because they did not have to learn what they knew. For they knew that he was a human being, but they did not know that he was also God. He also did this very same thing with the Pharisees. For when he saw that they came to him as to an ordinary human being, he questioned them in this way: "What do you think about the Christ? Whose son is he?" And when they said, "David's," he added, "Why, then, does David, in the Spirit, call him Lord? For he says, 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand.'" Then he concludes, "If he is his Lord, therefore, how can he be his son?"[54]

Eranistes. You have introduced testimony against yourself. For the Lord clearly taught the Pharisees not to call him son of David, but Lord of David. In this way he shows that he wished to be called God, but not a human being.

Orthodox. It seems that you have not paid attention to the divine teaching. For he did not refuse the title son of David, but added the necessity of believing that he is also Lord of David, since the words, "If he is, therefore, his Lord, how can he be his son?" clearly teach this.[55] For he did not say, "If he is Lord, he is not son," but rather, "How can he be his son?" In other words, he is Lord in one respect and son in another. And this clearly reveals both the divinity and the humanity.

Eranistes. Syllogisms are not required, for the Lord clearly taught that he does not wish to be called son of David.

Orthodox. Then he should also have taught the blind men, the Canaanite woman, and even the crowds, not to call him son of David. For the [131] blind men called out, "Son of David, have pity on us."[56] And the Canaanite woman said, "Son of David, have pity on me; my daughter is cruelly tormented by a demon."[57] And the crowd said, "Hosanna to the son of David; blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord."[58] And not only was he not annoyed, but he even praised their faith.

54. Mt 22.42–45.
55. Mt 22.45.
56. Mt 20.30.
57. Mt 15.22.
58. Mt 21.9.

For he freed the blind men from endless night and gave them the power to see. And he cured the raging madness of the Canaanite woman's daughter and drove away the wicked demon. And when the high priests and Pharisees criticized those who cried out, "Hosanna to the son of David,"[59] not only did he not stop their cries, but he even lent support to their praise. For he said, "Truly I say to you, if these people are silent, the stones will cry out."[60]

Eranistes. He accepted these designations before the resurrection to show consideration for the weakness of those who did not yet have true faith. But after the resurrection these names were superfluous.

Orthodox. Where, then, shall we rank the blessed Paul—among the perfect or the imperfect?

Eranistes. One shouldn't joke about serious topics.

Orthodox. Nor should one neglect the reading of the divine utterances.

Eranistes. And who is so miserable as to neglect their own salvation?

Orthodox. Answer the question and you will come to know your ignorance.

Eranistes. What question?

Orthodox. Where do we rank the divine Apostle?

Eranistes. Among the most perfect, obviously, and as a teacher of the perfect.

Orthodox. When did he start to preach?

Eranistes. After the assumption of the savior,[61] the coming of the Spirit, and the stoning of the victorious Stephen.

Orthodox. This man, near the very end of his life, wrote a final letter to his disciple Timothy and handed on to him, as in a will, a kind of paternal inheritance; and he said this: "Remember Jesus Christ, raised from the dead, from the seed of David, according to my gospel."[62] He pointed to his sufferings on be-

59. Mt 21.9 and Lk 19.40.
60. Lk 19.40.
61. "Assumption" is the term used for the "Ascension" of the risen Christ.
62. 2 Tm 2.8.

half of the gospel [132] and in this way showed the truth of the gospel. For he said, "Because of which [the gospel] I suffer even into chains as an evildoer."[63] I could easily have introduced many other witnesses like this, but I thought it unnecessary.

Eranistes. In promising to show that the Lord provided to those in need the teaching they lacked, you have said that he spoke to the Pharisees and the other Jews about his own divinity; but you have not proved that he also offered teaching about the flesh.

Orthodox. It was absolutely superfluous to speak about the visible flesh, for it was clearly seen eating, drinking, working, and sleeping. But still, putting aside the many different things that happened before the passion, after the resurrection, when the apostles did not believe, he showed them, not the divinity, but the humanity. For he says, "See my hands and my feet, that it is truly I; touch me and see, because a spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you see that I have."[64] See, we have kept our promise to you. For we showed that teaching about the divinity was offered to those who did not know it, while the flesh was shown to those who did not believe in the resurrection of the flesh. Stop arguing, therefore, and confess the two natures of the savior.

Eranistes. There were two before the union, but, when they came together, they formed one nature.

Orthodox. When do you say the union took place?

Eranistes. I say right at the moment of the conception.

Orthodox. Do you say that God the Word does not exist before the conception?

Eranistes. I say that God the Word exists before time.

Orthodox. Do you say that the flesh exists with the Word?

Eranistes. Definitely not.

Orthodox. But you say that it was formed by the Holy Spirit after the angel's greeting?

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. Then there were not two natures before the union,

63. 2 Tm 2.9.
64. Lk 24.39.

but one and only one. For if the divinity has a preexistence, and the humanity does not [133] coexist [with it], because it was formed after the angel's greeting, and the union was joined together by the formation, then, before the union there was one nature, the one that always existed and existed before time. But let us now examine this precise point again. Do you think that becoming flesh or becoming human signifies anything other than the union?

Eranistes. No.

Orthodox. Because the Word became flesh by assuming flesh?

Eranistes. Obviously.

Orthodox. Was the union joined together by the assumption?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. Then there was one nature before the Incarnation. For if union and becoming human are the same thing, and if [the Word] became human by assuming human nature, and if the form of God took the form of the slave,[65] then there was one nature before the union, the divine [nature].

Eranistes. And how are union and becoming human the same thing?

Orthodox. You just admitted that there is no difference between these terms.

Eranistes. You tricked me with your syllogisms.

Orthodox. I've only offered you simple information.

Eranistes. But I was still concentrating on the earlier syllogisms.

Orthodox. Then let's go back to the same discussion again, if you like.

Eranistes. This is the thing to do.

Orthodox. Does the Incarnation differ from the union according to the very nature of the thing?

Eranistes. There is a tremendous difference.

Orthodox. Explain fully the forms this difference takes.

Eranistes. The very meaning of the words reveals the difference. For the Incarnation reveals the assumption of the flesh, while the union reveals the joining together of separate things.

65. See Phil 2.7.

Orthodox. Do you say that the Incarnation preceded the union?

Eranistes. In no way.

Orthodox. But you do say that the union took place at conception?

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. In that case, if not even a moment of time intervened between the assumption of the flesh and the union, and if the assumed nature [134] did not exist before the assumption and the union, Incarnation and union refer to the same thing, and there was, therefore, one nature before the union or Incarnation; while after the union it is proper to affirm two [natures], the one that assumed and the one that was assumed.

Eranistes. I say that Christ is from two natures,[66] but I do not say two natures.

Orthodox. Explain to us what you mean by the phrase "from two natures"; is it like silver streaked with gold, or like the preparation of amber, or like solder, which is a mixture of lead and tin?

Eranistes. I say that this union is like none of these, for it is ineffable and inexpressible, and surpasses all understanding.

Orthodox. I also admit that the union cannot be explained. But I was taught by divine Scripture that each nature has remained intact even after the union.

Eranistes. And where did divine Scripture teach this?

Orthodox. All of Scripture is filled with this teaching.

Eranistes. Prove what you're saying.

Orthodox. Do you want proof because you don't admit the properties of each nature?

Eranistes. Not after the union.

Orthodox. But this is exactly what we were taught by divine Scripture.

Eranistes. I believe divine Scripture.

Orthodox. What do you say, then, when you hear the divinely inspired John cry out, "In the beginning was the Word, and the

66. Instead of this phrase the creed of the Council of Chalcedon used "in two natures."

Word was with God, and the Word was God,"[67] and, "All things were made through him,"[68] and other passages like these? Do you say that the flesh is with God in the beginning, is God by nature, and made all things, or that God the Word was begotten from the Father before time?

Eranistes. I say that these words refer to God the Word; but I do not separate the Word from the flesh united to him.

Orthodox. We don't separate the flesh from God the Word either, nor do we make the union a mixture.

Eranistes. I know one nature after the union.

Orthodox. When did the evangelists write the Gospels—before the union or a very long time after the union?

Eranistes. They obviously wrote after the union, the birth, the [135] miracles, the passion, the resurrection, the assumption into heaven, and the coming of the all-Holy Spirit.

Orthodox. Listen to John, then, when he says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made,"[69] and so on. And listen to Matthew: "The book of the birth of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham,"[70] and so on. Luke also traced the genealogy from Abraham and David.[71] Harmonize all of this data, then, with one nature. But you would not be able to do this, because descent from Abraham is contrary to existence in the beginning, and having a created ancestor is contrary to having created everything.

Eranistes. If you say this, you are dividing the only begotten Son into two persons.

Orthodox. I know and adore one Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, but I have been taught the difference between the divinity and the humanity. Now you, who claim that there was one nature after the union, harmonize the Gospel prologues with this.

Eranistes. You seem to think that this is a very difficult and perhaps impossible proposal.

67. Jn 1.1.
68. Jn 1.3.
69. Jn 1.1–3.
70. Mt 1.1.
71. See Lk 3.23–38.

Orthodox. It may be easy and simple for you; but just resolve our problem.

Eranistes. Both of these, existence in the beginning and being born from Abraham and from David according to the flesh, are proper to Christ the Lord.

Orthodox. You laid down the law that one must say one nature after the union; don't break your own law, therefore, by mentioning flesh.

Eranistes. It's easy to resolve the problem without mentioning flesh; for I refer both to Christ the savior.

Orthodox. I also say that both are proper to Christ the Lord, but [I do this] because I see two natures in him and attribute to each one its proper qualities. If Christ is one nature, however, how can one refer contrary predicates to it? For taking a beginning from Abraham and David, not to mention being born many generations after David, is contrary to existence in the beginning. [136] In the same way being born from creatures is contrary to creating everything, just as having human ancestors is contrary to having existence from God. And the temporal is contrary to the eternal. But now let's continue our investigation in this way. Do we say that God the Word is creator of all?

Eranistes. We were taught to believe this by divine Scripture.

Orthodox. On which day after the creation of heaven and earth did we learn that Adam was formed?

Eranistes. The sixth.[72]

Orthodox. And how many generations intervened between Adam and Abraham?

Eranistes. I understand that there were twenty.[73]

Orthodox. How many generations does the evangelist Matthew count from Abraham to Christ our savior?

Eranistes. Forty-two.[74]

Orthodox. In that case, if Christ the Lord is one nature, how can he both be creator of all things visible and invisible[75] and have been formed after so many generations by the Holy Spirit

72. See Gn 1.26–31.
73. See Lk 3.34–38.
74. See Mt 1.17.
75. See Col 1.16 and the Nicene Creed.

in the virgin's womb? How can he be both Adam's creator and a son of Adam's descendants?

Eranistes. I already said earlier that both are proper to him as God incarnate; for I know one incarnate nature of the Word.[76]

Orthodox. My friend, we're not saying that two natures of God the Word became flesh, for we know one nature of God the Word. But we have been taught that the flesh that the Word used to become incarnate is of another nature. And I think that you also admit this. So tell me, do you say that the Incarnation took place in accordance with some kind of change?

Eranistes. I do not know how, but I believe that the Word became flesh.

Orthodox. By professing ignorance you are acting badly and very much like the Pharisees. For as soon as they saw the power of the Lord's questions, they feared condemnation and said, "We do not know."[77] But I say loudly and clearly that the divine Incarnation was free of change. For if [the Word] became flesh in accordance with some alteration or change, [137] the divine names and realities would in no way apply to him after the change.

Eranistes. We have often confessed that God the Word is immutable.

Orthodox. He became flesh, therefore, by assuming flesh.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. Then the incarnate nature of God the Word is one thing, while the nature of the flesh, which the divine nature of the Word assumed to become incarnate and a human being, is another.

Eranistes. Agreed.

Orthodox. Then he did not change into flesh?

Eranistes. Definitely not.

Orthodox. If the Word became flesh, therefore, not by changing, but by taking flesh, and if both sets of predicates apply to the Word as incarnate God (for you just said this), the natures were not mingled together, but remained unmixed. If this is

76. This is a variation of a controversial phrase used by Cyril of Alexandria.
77. Mt 21.27.

our understanding, we shall also see the harmony of the evangelists. For one proclaims the divinity of the one only begotten one, that is, Christ the Lord, while the other proclaims the humanity. And Christ the Lord himself teaches us this way of understanding. For sometimes he calls himself Son of God,[78] and at other times Son of Man.[79] At one time he honors his mother as the one who bore him,[80] while at another time, as master, he rebukes [her].[81] On one occasion he approves those who call him son of David,[82] while on another he teaches those who lack knowledge that he is not only David's son, but also David's Lord.[83] He calls both Nazareth and Capernaum his homeland,[84] but he also cries out, "Before Abraham was, I am."[85] You will find divine Scripture filled with many examples like these. And they reveal, not one nature, but two.

Eranistes. Whoever sees two natures in Christ divides the one only begotten one into two sons.

Orthodox. Well then, when you say that Paul is composed of a soul and a body, have you stated that the one Paul is two Pauls?

Eranistes. The example is inappropriate.

Orthodox. I know that too, for in this [i.e., Paul's] case there is a union of nature involving things that are temporal, [138] created, and fellow servants, while in the case of Christ the Lord it is a matter of good will, of love of humanity, and of grace. But even though the union [in Paul's case] was one of nature, the properties of the natures remained unmixed.

Eranistes. If the properties of the natures remained unmixed, why does the soul long for nourishment along with the body?

Orthodox. The soul does not long for nourishment; how could it, since it is immortal and transcends nourishment? But the body, which receives the capacity of life from the soul, perceives the need and desires to provide what is lacking; and so it longs for rest after work, for sleep after wakefulness, and so on with everything else. Right after its dissolution, therefore, it

78. See Jn 10.36.
79. See Mt 9.6.
80. See Lk 2.51.
81. See Jn 2.4.
82. See Mt 15.22; 20.30; 21.9.
83. See Mt 22.41–45.
84. See Lk 4.16–24.
85. Jn 8.58.

lacks activity of life, does not reach for what it lacks, and suffers corruption because it does not receive it.

Eranistes. Do you see hunger, thirst, and similar needs as pertaining to the soul?

Orthodox. If they did pertain to the soul, it would continue to suffer hunger, thirst, and other similar needs even after its release from the body.

Eranistes. Then what do you say is proper to the soul?

Orthodox. Being rational, uncompounded, immortal, and invisible.

Eranistes. And what is proper to the body?

Orthodox. Being composite, visible, and mortal.

Eranistes. Do we say that the human being is composed of these?

Orthodox. We do.

Eranistes. So do we define the human being as a rational, mortal living being?

Orthodox. Yes.

Eranistes. And do we name [the human being] from both types of qualities?

Orthodox. Yes.

Eranistes. Then just as we make no division here, but call the same one both rational and mortal, we should act in the same way with respect to Christ and attribute to him both the divine and the human.

Orthodox. This is what we're saying, although you haven't expressed it accurately. So look at it this way; whenever we undertake a study of the human soul, do we mention only the things that are proper to its nature and activity?

Eranistes. Definitely.

[139] *Orthodox.* And when we speak about the body, do we again mention only the things proper to it?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. But whenever the discussion concerns the whole living being, we do not hesitate to introduce both sets of qualities. For the properties of both the body and the soul belong to the human being.

Eranistes. You put that very well.

Orthodox. Then this is the way one should speak about Christ the Lord. When we discuss the natures, we should attribute its proper qualities to each one and realize that some belong to the divinity, and others to the humanity. But when we speak about the person, we must make the properties of the natures common and attribute both types to Christ the savior; and we must call him both God and a human being, both Son of God and Son of Man, both son of David and Lord of David, both seed of Abraham and creator of Abraham, and so on in every respect.[86]

Eranistes. You were absolutely right to say that the person of Christ is one, and that both the divine and the human qualities belong to him,[87] and I accept this rule of faith. But to say also that, when speaking about the natures, we must attribute its proper qualities to each one seems, in my opinion, to dissolve the union. And so I do not accept this type of language.

Orthodox. And yet, when we were examining the soul and the body, you thought it perfectly acceptable to distinguish those terms; at least you immediately expressed your approval. Then why don't you accept the same rule with respect to the divinity and the humanity of Christ the Lord? Or don't you consider the divinity and the humanity of Christ equal to a soul and a body? You concede a union without mixture to a soul and a body; do you dare to say that the divinity and the humanity of Christ underwent a mixture and a blending together?

Eranistes. I think that the divinity, and even the flesh, of Christ are much more noble, indeed infinitely more so, than a soul and a body; but I still say that there is one nature after the union.

Orthodox. Isn't it wicked and evil to say that a soul joined to a body undergoes absolutely no type of mixture, but that the [140] divinity of the Lord of the universe cannot preserve its own nature intact and cannot keep the human nature that it as-

86. Orthodox here states accurately how qualities are to be predicated of the person and the natures according to the principles of *communicatio idiomatum.*

87. This pronoun grammatically can refer either to Christ or to "person."

sumed within its proper limits, and instead mixes things that are pure and blends things that will not blend? For the one nature gives rise to these suspicions.

Eranistes. I also think that we should avoid the word "mixture"; but I refuse to say "two natures," to avoid falling into the duality of sons.

Orthodox. I am trying hard to avoid two cliffs, one of wicked mixture, and the other of wicked separation. For I think it is just as unholy to divide the one Son into two as to deny the duality of the natures. Answer me now, for the sake of the truth. Suppose that a follower of Arius or Eunomius was in a discussion with you and attempted to devalue the Son and to show that the Son was less than, and inferior to the Father, by saying those words they always use and by offering this text from divine Scripture: "Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass away from me,"[88] and "Now my soul is distressed,"[89] and other passages like these. How would you resolve his problems? How would you show that the Son is not inferior because of these texts, and that the Son is not of a different substance,[90] but was begotten from the substance of the Father?[91]

Eranistes. I would say that divine Scripture says some things that refer to God and others that refer to the divine plan, and that one must not try to combine statements that refer to the divine plan with those that refer to God.

Orthodox. But then your opponent would say that, even in the old dispensation, divine Scripture makes many statements that refer to the divine plan. For example: "Adam heard the voice of the Lord God, who was walking around";[92] and "I shall go down and see if they are acting in accordance with their cry that came to me, but if not, so that I may know";[93] and "Now I know that you fear God";[94] and many other texts like these.

Eranistes. I would in turn reply to this that there is a great dif-

88. Mt 26.39.
89. Jn 12.27.
90. The word ἑτεροούσιον is the exact opposite of the Nicene ὁμοούσιον.
91. "From the substance of the Father" is found in the Nicene creed.
92. Gn 3.8.
93. Gn 18.21.
94. Gn 22.12.

ference between the dispensations. For in the old dispensation the divine plan consisted of words like these, while here it is a question of actions.

Orthodox. But he would ask, "What actions?"

Eranistes. And he will immediately hear, "the actions of the Incarnation." For when the Son of God became a human being, through both words and actions he displays [141] sometimes the flesh, and at other times the divinity, so that in the examples cited[95] he clearly revealed the weakness of the flesh and the soul, because [it expressed] the emotion of fear.

Orthodox. But if he said in reply that [the Son of God] did not assume a soul, but only a body, and that the divinity was united to the body in place of the soul and took upon itself everything that pertained to the soul, what would you say to resolve the dilemma?

Eranistes. I would offer witnesses from divine Scripture and show that God the Word assumed not only flesh, but also a soul.

Orthodox. And where shall we find such witnesses in Scripture?

Eranistes. Didn't you hear the Lord when he said: "I have power to put down my soul,[96] and I have power to take it again; no one takes it from me; I put it down by myself, in order to take it again";[97] and "Now my soul is distressed";[98] and "My soul is very sad, even to death"?[99] And didn't you hear David's words that were interpreted by Peter: "His soul was not abandoned to the underworld, and his flesh did not see corruption"?[100] These passages, and others like them, clearly show that God the Word assumed, not only a body, but also a soul.

Orthodox. You have presented very apt and reasonable witnesses. But he might object that, even before becoming human, God spoke with the Jewish people and said, "My soul hates your fasting, holidays, and feasts."[101] He would then draw the logical

95. See Mt 26.39 and Jn 12.27.

96. The word ψυχή means soul, which is considered the principle of life; it can also mean life, which is the usual translation of this text.

97. Jn 10.18, 17 *(sic).* 98. Jn 12.27.

99. Mt 26.38.

100. Ps 16.10 (LXX 15.10); Acts 2.31.

101. Is 1.13–14.

conclusion and say that just as [God] mentioned a soul in the old dispensation, even though he didn't have one, he also did that here.

Eranistes. Then he will hear further that, in speaking about God, divine Scripture also mentions parts of the body. For it says: "Incline your ear and hear";[102] "Open your eyes and see";[103] "The Lord's mouth has said this";[104] "Your hands have made me and formed me";[105] and countless other phrases like this. So if the soul is not to be considered a soul even after the Incarnation, then neither is the body to be considered a body, [142] and the great mystery of the divine plan will be found to be an illusion, and we shall differ in no way from Marcion, Valentinus, and Manes. For these are the kinds of stories that they invent.

Orthodox. Suppose that one of Apollinarius's crowd suddenly appeared while you were speaking and asked, "What kind of soul do you say that it assumed, my friend?" What would you say in reply?

Eranistes. First, that I know one soul belonging to the human being. Then I would add that, if you think there are two souls, one rational and the other irrational, I say that the rational soul was assumed. For you apparently have the irrational soul, since you think that our salvation was imperfect.

Orthodox. And if he should demand proof of what you say?

Eranistes. I would easily provide it and shall recall the Gospel texts: "The child Jesus grew and became strong in spirit, and God's favor was on him";[106] and, "Jesus advanced in age, wisdom, and grace, before God and human beings."[107] And I would also say that none of this refers to divinity. For the body advances in age, and the soul, not the irrational one, but the rational one, advances in wisdom. God the Word, therefore, assumed a rational soul.

Orthodox. You have broken the three battle lines of our adversaries very admirably, my good man, but with your words you

102. Dn 9.18.
103. Ibid.
104. Is 58.14.
105. Ps 119.73 (LXX 118.73).
106. Lk 2.40.
107. Lk 2.52.

dissolved that union and the much talked of blending and mixture, not only into two, but even into three parts. And not only did you show the difference between divinity and humanity, but you even split the humanity itself in two. For you taught that the soul was one thing and the body was something else, so that there is no longer a perception of two natures of Jesus Christ our savior, as we say, but three.

Eranistes. What do you mean? Don't you say that the substance of the soul compared to the nature of the body is something different?

Orthodox. Yes, I do.

Eranistes. Then why did you think the explanation was strange?

Orthodox. Because you acknowledged three natures, after refusing to affirm two.

Eranistes. The struggle with our adversaries forces me to do this. For how else could one speak with those who deny the assumption of the flesh, the soul, [143] or the mind, than by offering proofs about these issues from divine Scripture? How else could one refute those who struggle furiously to diminish the divinity of the only begotten one, than by showing that divine Scripture said some things that refer to God and others that pertain to the divine plan?

Orthodox. What you say is true, for it is what we say, or rather what everyone says who has preserved the apostolic rule intact. And you have yourself turned out to be an advocate of our teachings.

Eranistes. And how can I, who does not affirm two sons, be an advocate of your position?

Orthodox. When did you hear us preaching two sons?

Eranistes. Whoever affirms two natures affirms two sons.

Orthodox. So you, therefore, affirm three sons, since you have affirmed three natures.

Eranistes. There was no other way to solve our opponents' problems.

Orthodox. Listen to us saying the very same thing; for we also confront the same adversaries.

Eranistes. But I do not affirm two natures after the union.

Orthodox. And yet a moment ago you used these words, after many generations since the union took place. But teach us, nevertheless, what you mean by one nature after the union; was one formed out of the two, or did one remain, while the other was annihilated?

Eranistes. I say that the divinity remained, but the humanity was swallowed up by it.

Orthodox. These are Greek myths and Manichaean nonsense, and I am ashamed even to bring them out in public. For the Greeks invented stories about the swallowings done by the gods,[108] while the Manichaean talked about the daughter of the light in their discourses. But we reject ideas like these, because they are not only wicked, but also very stupid. For how could the simple and uncompounded nature, that embraces the universe and is inaccessible and infinite, have swallowed a nature that it assumed?

Eranistes. In the same way that the sea absorbs a drop of honey. For when that drop is mixed with seawater, it immediately disappears.

Orthodox. The sea and the drop differ in quantity and in one quality. For one is very large, while the other is very small, and one is sweet, while the other is bitter; but in other respects one can find a very close relationship between them. For both have a nature that is liquid, wet, and fluid; they exist in the same way as creatures, and [144] also have in common a lack of soul; and yet each one of them is called a body. It is not unusual, therefore, when closely related natures are mixed, for one to make the other disappear. But here the difference is infinite, and so much so, that no image of the reality can be found. And yet I am going to show that many things that are mixed together are not blended with one another, but remain pure.

Eranistes. Who ever heard of an unmixed mixture?

Orthodox. I shall force you to confess this.

Eranistes. If what you are going to say should turn out to be true, I shall not fight against the truth.

Orthodox. Then answer me and tell me, by agreeing or disagreeing, what you think of my argument.

108. Orthodox apparently means Kronos devouring his offspring.

Eranistes. I'll do that.

Orthodox. Do you think that the light as it rises fills all the atmosphere, except for someone shut up in a cave who might remain without light?

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. And do you think that all the light permeates all the atmosphere?

Eranistes. I think that too.

Orthodox. And doesn't the mixture permeate everything that is mixed together?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. But don't we see the atmosphere that is filled with light as light, and don't we call it light?

Eranistes. Absolutely.

Orthodox. But even when the light is present, we still perceive dryness and humidity, and often also cold and heat.

Eranistes. We do perceive these.

Orthodox. And after the light goes away, the atmosphere itself continues to exist by itself.

Eranistes. This is true.

Orthodox. All right, now consider this case. Does iron burn when it comes into contact with fire?

Eranistes. Of course.

Orthodox. And does the fire permeate its whole substance?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. Then how come the intimate union does not change the iron's nature, even though the mixture permeates it completely?

[145] *Eranistes.* But it does change completely. For it is no longer thought to be iron, but fire, and it even possesses the active power of fire.

Orthodox. Does the smith therefore stop calling it iron or stop bringing it to the anvil and applying the hammer?

Eranistes. No.

Orthodox. So contact with fire did not destroy the nature of the iron.

Eranistes. Not at all.

Orthodox. Well then, if it's possible to find an unblended mix-

ture among bodies, it's sheer madness, when dealing with the pure and unchangeable nature, to think of mixture and the destruction of the assumed nature, especially since it was assumed to benefit the [human] race.

Eranistes. We do not affirm the destruction of the assumed nature, but its transformation into the substance of divinity.

Orthodox. Then the human form no longer has its former limitation?

Eranistes. It certainly does not.

Orthodox. When did it undergo this transformation?

Eranistes. After the intimate union.

Orthodox. And when do you say this took place?

Eranistes. I've often said, at conception.

Orthodox. And yet after conception he was an embryo in the womb; and after his birth he was and was called an infant, and was adored by the shepherds; and in the same way he was and was called a child by the angel.[109] Do you know this, or do you think we're making up stories?

Eranistes. The narrative in the divine Gospels teaches this, and it can't be denied.

Orthodox. Then let's also look at what follows. Don't we confess that the Lord was circumcised?[110]

Eranistes. We do.

Orthodox. What was circumcised? Flesh or divinity?

Eranistes. The flesh.

Orthodox. What grows and advances in age and wisdom?[111]

Eranistes. Obviously none of these apply to divinity.

[146] *Orthodox.* And neither do hunger and thirst?

Eranistes. Certainly not.

Orthodox. And neither do walking, being tired, sleeping, and, in short, everything else like this?

Eranistes. Absolutely not.

Orthodox. So if the union took place at conception, and if all these things happened after conception and birth, then the humanity did not lose its own nature after the union.

109. See Mt 2.1–23 and Lk 2.1–38. 110. See Lk 2.21.
111. See Lk 1.80 and 2.52.

Eranistes. My definition was inaccurate. For the flesh was transformed into the nature of divinity after the resurrection from the dead.

Orthodox. So none of the characteristics that reveal the nature remained in it after the resurrection.

Eranistes. If they remained, there was no divine transformation.

Orthodox. Then how could he show his hands and his feet to the disbelieving apostles?[112]

Eranistes. In the same way that he came in, even though the doors were closed.[113]

Orthodox. But he came in, even though the doors were closed, just as he came out of the womb, although the bars of virginity were locked, and just as he walked on the sea.[114] But according to what you say the transformation of the nature had not yet taken place.

Eranistes. The Lord showed his hands to the apostles in the same way that he wrestled with Jacob.[115]

Orthodox. But the Lord does not allow this interpretation. For when the disciples thought that they were seeing a spirit, the Lord drove away this suspicion and revealed the nature of his flesh. For he says, "Why are you disturbed, and why do doubts arise in your hearts? See my hands and my feet, and see that it is I myself. Touch me and see, because a spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you see that I have."[116] Notice the clarity of his words. For he did not say being flesh and bones, but having flesh and bones, in order to show that that which has according to nature is different from that which is had. For just as that which took is one thing, and that which was taken is another, although one Christ from both is known, in the same way that which has is totally different from that which is had, but this does not [147] divide into two persons the one who is known in them. But since the disciples still had doubts, the Lord asked for food, took it, and ate it;[117] and he did not con-

112. See Lk 24.39.
113. See Jn 20.20.
114. See Mt 14.25.
115. See Jn 20.19 and Gn 32.24.
116. Lk 24.38–39.
117. See Lk 24.41–43.

sume the food through an illusion, nor was he satisfying a bodily need.

Eranistes. But we still have to accept one of two possibilities: Either he took food because he needed it, or, if he did not need it, he seemed to eat, but did not take food at all.

Orthodox. His body had become immortal and did not need food. For the Lord said about those who rose, "In that place they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as angels."[118] And yet the apostles testify that he took food. For in the prologue of the *Acts* the blessed Luke said, "While eating with the apostles, the Lord ordered them not to leave Jerusalem."[119] And the most divine Peter said very clearly, "We who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead."[120] For since eating is proper to those who live in the present life, the Lord, through eating and drinking, had to reveal the resurrection of the flesh to those who did not know the truth. He did this very same thing with Lazarus and with the daughter of Jairus. For after he raised her, he ordered that she be given something to eat;[121] and he shared a feast with Lazarus,[122] to reveal in this way the true resurrection.

Eranistes. If we must admit that the Lord actually ate, let us also admit that all people take food after the resurrection.

Orthodox. What the savior did because of a divine plan is not a rule and limitation of nature; for because of a divine plan he also did certain other things that will definitely not happen to those who return to life.

Eranistes. What things?

Orthodox. Won't the bodies of those who have risen become incorruptible and immortal?

Eranistes. That's what saint Paul taught us. For he said, "It is sowed in corruption, it is raised in incorruption. It is sowed in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sowed in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sowed a carnal body, it is raised a spiritual body."[123]

118. Mk 12.25.
119. Acts 1.4.
120. Acts 10.41.
121. See Mk 5.43.
122. See Jn 12.1–2.
123. 1 Cor 15.42–44.

[148] *Orthodox.* But the Lord raises the bodies of all people free of defect and blemish, for lameness and blindness are not found in those who have risen. And yet he left in his own body the holes made by the nails and the wound in his side; the Lord himself and the hands of Thomas testify to this.[124]

Eranistes. That's true.

Orthodox. In that case, if after the resurrection the Lord took food and showed his disciples his hands and his feet, the nail-holes in them, his side and the wound that the spear made in it, and said to them, "Touch me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you see that I have,"[125] then even after the resurrection the nature of the body remained and was not transformed into another substance.

Eranistes. But his body is certainly not mortal and capable of suffering after the resurrection, is it?[126]

Orthodox. Absolutely not. It is incorruptible, incapable of suffering, and immortal.

Eranistes. If it is incorruptible, incapable of suffering, and immortal, it was transformed into another nature.

Orthodox. Then the bodies of all human beings will be transformed into another substance, since they will all be incorruptible and immortal. Or didn't you hear the Apostle say, "For this corruptible thing must put on incorruptibility, and this mortal thing must put on immortality"?[127]

Eranistes. I heard that.

Orthodox. So the nature remains, but its corruptibility is transformed into incorruptibility and its mortality into immortality. Let's look at it this way: Whether a body is sick or healthy, we still call it a body.

Eranistes. We do.

Orthodox. Why?

Eranistes. Because they both share the same substance.

124. See Jn 20.27.

125. Lk 24.39.

126. This sentence begins with οὐκοῦν; it should probably be emended to οὔκουν, which looks for a negative answer.

127. 1 Cor 15.53.

Orthodox. And yet we see a tremendous difference between them. For one is healthy, sound, and free of misery, while the other has the eye torn out, the limb broken, or some other very grievous affliction.

[149] *Eranistes.* But good health and sickness both affect the same nature.

Orthodox. Then surely the body should be called a substance, and sickness and good health should be called accidental attributes.

Eranistes. Quite true. For they are present in the body and absent from it.

Orthodox. Then corruption and death should be called accidental attributes, not substances, for they are present and absent.

Eranistes. That term should be used.

Orthodox. So the bodies of human beings are freed from corruption and mortality when they rise, but they do not lose their proper nature.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. And so the Lord's body rose incorruptible, incapable of suffering, immortal, glorified with the divine glory, and is adored by the heavenly powers; but it is still a body as finite as it was before.

Eranistes. What you say seems to make sense. But I don't think you'll say that it was not transformed into the nature of divinity after the assumption into heaven.

Orthodox. I would not be persuaded to say this by human arguments, for I am not so bold as to say something that divine Scripture did not mention. But I did hear the divinely inspired Paul cry out that, "God has determined a day on which he will judge the world in righteousness, through a man whom God selected, instilling confidence in all by raising him from the dead."[128] I have also learned from the holy angels that he will come in the same way that the disciples saw him going to heaven.[129] But they saw a finite nature, not an infinite one. And I

128. Acts 17.31.
129. See Acts 1.11.

also heard the Lord say, "You will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven."[130] And I know that what human beings see is finite, for the infinite nature is invisible. Finally, the passage about sitting on a throne of glory and setting the sheep on the right and the goats on the left[131] also reveals the finite.

[150] *Eranistes.* Then he certainly wasn't infinite before he became human. For the prophet saw him surrounded by the seraphim.[132]

Orthodox. The prophet didn't see the actual substance of God, but a kind of vision adapted to his capability. After the resurrection, however, all will see the judge's visible nature itself.

Eranistes. You promised to say nothing unattested, but now you're offering your own arguments.

Orthodox. I was taught this by divine Scripture. For I heard the prophet Zechariah say, "They will look at him whom they have pierced."[133] How can the prophecy be fulfilled, if those who crucify do not know the nature they crucified? I also heard the triumphant Stephen cry out, "Behold I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God."[134] He saw the visible, not the invisible nature.

Eranistes. This is certainly in Scripture. But I don't think you'll show that inspired men called the body a body after the assumption into heaven.

Orthodox. The statements I just made point very clearly to the body, for that which is seen is a body. But I shall nevertheless show that the Lord's body is called a body even after the assumption. Hear, then, the apostle who teaches, "For our society is in heaven, from which we also receive a savior, Lord Jesus, who will transform the body of our lowliness, to be made itself into the same form as the body of his glory."[135] It was not, therefore, transformed into another nature, but remained a body,

130. Mt 26.64.

131. See Mt 25.31–33.

132. See Is 6.2. In the LXX version, Isaiah sees seraphim in a circle around God; Eranistes consideres this a limitation or a circumscribing of God, and, therefore concludes that God is not "infinite" [ἀπερίγραφος].

133. Zec 12.10.

134. Acts 7.56.

135. Phil 3.20–21.

even though it was filled with divine glory and emitted rays of light; and the bodies of holy people will be made into the same form as it. But if it was transformed into another nature, then their bodies will also be transformed in the same way, for they will be made into the same form as it. So if the bodies of holy people preserve the characteristics of the nature, then the Lord's body will also keep its own substance unchanged.

Eranistes. Are the bodies of holy people, therefore, equal to the Lord's body?

Orthodox. They will also participate in its incorruptibility and even in its immortality. They will also share in its glory, as the Apostle says, [151] "If we suffer together, in order that we might also be glorified together."[136] But there is a great difference to be found in its immensity, as vast as that between the sun and the stars, or rather as that between master and servants, and between that which gives light and that which is illuminated. But nevertheless he shared his own titles with his servants, and he who is called light called holy people light; for he says, "You are the light of the world."[137] He who is named sun of righteousness[138] says about his servants, "Then the righteous will shine like the sun."[139] It is according to quality, therefore, not according to immensity that the bodies of holy people will be made into the same form as the Lord's body. See, we clearly showed you what you asked. But now, if you agree, let's look at this in another way.

Eranistes. We must turn every stone, as the proverb says,[140] so that we can find the truth, especially if divine teachings are the issue.

Orthodox. Then tell me, what is symbolized by the sacramental symbols[141] that are offered to the Lord God by those who offer sacrifice?

Eranistes. The Lord's body and blood.

136. Rom 8.17.
137. Mt 5.14.
138. See Mal 4.2 (LXX 3.20).
139. Mt 13.43.
140. The exact source of this proverb remains unknown. It may refer to stones used in a board game.
141. See above, Dialogue 1, n. 79 on the language of the mysteries. The word translated "symbol" here is σύμβολον.

Orthodox. The real body or one that is not real?

Eranistes. The real one.

Orthodox. Excellent. For the original represented by the image must be real. In fact painters also imitate nature and produce images of things that are seen.

Eranistes. Correct.

Orthodox. So if the divine mysteries are representations of the real, then the Lord's body is a body even now, in spite of the fact that it is divine and the Lord's body, for it was not transformed into the nature of divinity, but was filled with divine glory.

Eranistes. You moved the discussion to the divine mysteries at the perfect time, for I shall use them to show you the transformation of the Lord's body into another nature. So please answer my questions.

Orthodox. I shall.

Eranistes. Before the priestly invocation,[142] what do you call the gift that is offered?

Orthodox. We must not speak clearly, for there may be uninitiated people nearby.

Eranistes. Make the answer obscure.

[152] *Orthodox.* Food from certain seeds.

Eranistes. And what do we call the other symbol?

Orthodox. This is also a common name signifying a form of drink.

Eranistes. But after the consecration[143] what do you call them?

Orthodox. Christ's body and blood.

Eranistes. And do you really believe that you share in Christ's body and blood?

Orthodox. I believe this.

Eranistes. Then, just as the symbols of the Lord's body and blood are one thing before the priestly invocation, but are transformed and become something else after the invocation, so the Lord's body was transformed into the divine substance after the assumption.

142. Ἱερατικὴ ἐπίκλησις.
143. Ἁγιασμός.

Orthodox. You have been caught in your own net. For the sacramental symbols do not lose their own nature after the consecration, because they remain in their former substance, shape, and form, and are visible and tangible, just as they were before. But they are understood to be what they became, and they are the object of faith and worship, because they are what they are believed to be. Compare the image with the original, therefore, and you will see the similarity; for the type must be like the reality. And that body, in fact, keeps its prior form, as well as the shape, limitation, and, in general, the substance of the body. But after the resurrection it became immortal and beyond corruption, was judged worthy of a seat at the right hand, and is adored by all creation, since it is and is called the body of the Lord of nature.

Eranistes. And yet the sacramental symbol changes its former designation, since it is no longer called by the name it had before, but is called a body. So even the reality must be called God, not a body.

Orthodox. I think you do not understand. For it is called, not only a body, but also bread of life.[144] The Lord called it this, and we name this very body a body that is divine and life-giving, a body that belongs to the master and Lord; and in this way we teach that it is the body, not of some ordinary human being, but [153] of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is God and a human being, both eternal and temporal. "For Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever."[145]

Eranistes. You've spoken at great length about this, but I follow the holy men who were the glory of the churches long ago. Show me, therefore, that in what they said they distinguished the natures after the union.

Orthodox. I'll read you their works, and I know for sure that you will be amazed at the countless number of distinctions they inserted in their writings as they fought against wicked heresies. Listen, therefore, to those whose testimonies we have already offered you, as they say this clearly and openly.

144. See Jn 6.48–51.
145. Heb 13.8.

The Holy Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch and Martyr

1. From the letter to the Smyrnaeans.[146]

For I know and believe that he is in flesh even after the resurrection, and when he came to those who were with Peter, he said to them, "Take, touch me, and see that I am not a bodiless spirit."[147] And they immediately touched him and believed.

2. By the same author from the same letter.[148]

After the resurrection he ate and drank with them as one who had flesh,[149] even though he was spiritually united with the Father.

Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons

3. From the third discourse of the book against heresies.[150]

As we said before, then, he united the human being to God. For if a human being had not conquered the adversary of humanity, the enemy would not have been overcome justly; furthermore, if God had not given the gift of salvation, we would not have possessed it with certainty; and if the human being had not been united to God, it could not have shared incorruptibility. For necessity demanded that the mediator between God and human beings,[151] by means of his own relationship with both parties, should lead both of them to love and concord, and should offer the human being to God and reveal God to human beings. [154]

146. Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* 3.1–2. *CPG* 1.1025; all the quotations from Ignatius are found under this number.

147. Lk 24.39.

148. Ignatius of Antioch, op. cit. 3.3.

149. See Lk 24.43.

150. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies* 3.18.7. *CPG* 1.1306; all the quotations from Irenaeus are found under this number.

151. See 1 Tm 2.5.

4. By the same author from the third discourse of the same work.[152]

In the letter, therefore, he also says, "Everyone who believes that Jesus is Christ has been born of God,"[153] for he knew one and the same Jesus Christ, by whom the gates of heaven were opened because he assumed flesh, who will also come in the same flesh through which he suffered, to reveal the glory of the Father.

5. By the same author from the fourth discourse of the book against heresies.[154]

As Isaiah says, "The children of Jacob will sprout, and Israel will blossom, and the world will be filled with its fruit."[155] Even though its fruit was scattered through the whole world, therefore, with good reason has that been abandoned and disappeared which at one time bore good fruit; for from them according to the flesh Christ was born, as were the apostles; but now they are no longer good for bearing fruit.

6. By the same author from the same discourse.[156]

He also condemns the Ebionites. How can they be saved, if it was not God who accomplished their salvation on earth? And how will a human being come to God, if God has not come to a human being?

7. By the same author from the same discourse.[157]

Those who preached that Emmanuel is from the virgin revealed the union of the Word of God with his creation.

152. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 3.16.8.
153. 1 Jn 5.1.
154. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 4.4.1.
155. Is 27.6.
156. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 4.33.4.
157. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 4.33.11.

8. By the same author from the same work.[158]

For these things did not take place through an illusion, but in true reality.[159] If he appeared as a human being, but was not human, then he did not truly remain what he was, God's Spirit, for the Spirit is invisible; and there was no truth in him, since things were not what they appeared to be. We said before that Abraham and the other prophets saw him in a prophetic way, predicting through a vision what was going to happen. So if he appeared like this now, but was not what he appeared to be, human beings had a kind of prophetic vision, and one must expect him to come yet again, at which time he will be exactly as he is now in a prophetic way seen to be. But we have shown that saying that his appearance was only an illusion is just the same as saying that he took nothing from Mary. For he did not really have flesh and blood, through which he redeemed us, if he did not [155] recapitulate in himself the original creation of Adam. Consequently, the Valentinians who teach this in order to reject the life of the flesh are wasting their time.

The Holy Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr

9. From the discourse on the distribution of talents.[160]

You could say that these people resemble those with heretical opinions, since they make the same type of mistake. For they also either profess that Christ appeared in life only as a human being, by denying the talent of his divinity, or by confessing that he was God, they deny in turn that he was a human being; and they teach that he tricked the vision of those who saw him; for he did not wear a human being as a human being, but instead was a kind of imaginary illusion; this resembles Marcion, Valentinus, and the Gnostics, who tear the Word away from the flesh and reject the one talent, the Incarnation.

158. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 5.1.2.
159. Ἐν ὑποστάσει ἀληθείας.
160. Hippolytus, *On Matthew 25 (On the distribution of Talents). CPG* 1.1888.

10. By the same author from the letter to a certain empress.[161]

He calls him "firstfruit of those who have fallen asleep,"[162] therefore, because he is "first-born from the dead."[163] After he rose, he wanted to show that what had risen was also that which had died, since the disciples were in doubt, and so he addressed Thomas and said, "Come, touch and see, for a spirit does not have bone and flesh, as you see that I have."[164]

11. By the same author from the discourse on Elkanah and Anna.[165]

And three special times of the year were, therefore, set forth as types of the savior himself, so that he might fulfill the mysteries that had been foretold about him: At Easter,[166] so that he could show that he was the one who would be sacrificed as a lamb and revealed as the true paschal [lamb], as the Apostle says, "Our paschal [lamb], Christ, was sacrificed for us."[167] And also at Pentecost, so that he could proclaim the kingdom of heaven by himself being the first one who ascended to heaven[168] and offered the human being as a gift to God.

12. By the same author from the discourse on the great song.[169]

He drew from the depths of the underworld the human being first-formed from earth, who had perished and was caught in death's chains; he came down from above and lifted up on high the one who was below; he became the evangelist of the dead, the redeemer of souls, and the resurrection of those who had

161. Hippolytus, *On the Resurrection to the Empress Mammaea. CPG* 1.1900.2.
162. 1 Cor 15.20.
163. Col 1.18.
164. Lk 24.39.
165. Hippolytus, *Commentary on 1 Kings 1.1ff.* [*1 Sm 1.1 (LXX 1 Kgs 1)*]. *From the Discourse on Elkanah and Anna. CPG* 1.1881.1.
166. Here and in the quote from Paul that follows the Greek for "Easter" and "paschal" is πάσχα.
167. 1 Cor 5.7.
168. See Jn 3.13.
169. Hippolytus, *On Deuteronomy (On the Great Song). CPG* 1.1880.6.

died; he is the one who became the helper of the human being who had been conquered, [156] like the human being in his being: the first-born Word, in the virgin, visiting the first-formed Adam; the spiritual one, in the womb, seeking the earthly one; the one who has eternal life seeking the one who died because of disobedience; the heavenly one calling the earthly one up on high; the noble one who, through his own obedience, wants to declare the slave free; the one who changed the human being who was dissolved into earth and had become a serpent's food into adamant, and who declared that the one who was hung on a tree was Lord over the one who had conquered. And that is why Adam, who was conquered through a tree, is now found to be victorious because of the tree.

13. By the same author from the same discourse.[170]

For those who now do not acknowledge the Son of God in flesh will acknowledge him when he comes as judge in glory, even though he is now despised in an ignominious body.[171]

14. By the same author from the same discourse.[172]

For when the apostles came to the tomb on the third day, they did not find the body of Jesus,[173] just as the sons of Israel climbed up on the mountain to look for the tomb of Moses, but did not find it.[174]

15. By the same author from the interpretation of Psalm 2.[175]

When he came into the world he was revealed as God and a human being. And it is easy to see that he is a human being when he is hungry and weary, grows tired and is thirsty; he flees in fear, prays in distress, falls asleep on a pillow, declines the cup of suffering, sweats in agony; he is strengthened by an angel, betrayed by Judas, dishonored by Caiaphas, despised by Herod, scourged by Pilate, beaten by the soldiers, nailed to a tree by the

170. Ibid.
171. See Mt 25.31.
172. Hippolytus, op. cit.
173. See Lk 24.24.
174. See Dt 34.6.
175. Hippolytus, *On Psalm 2.7. CPG* 1.1882.2.

Jews; he cries out to the Father and hands over his spirit, bows his head and breathes his last; he is pierced in the side with a spear, is wrapped in linen and placed in a tomb, and is raised on the third day by the Father. And in turn one can also see clearly the divinity when he is worshipped by angels, gazed at by shepherds, [157] awaited by Simeon, witnessed to by Anna, sought by the Magi, and pointed out by a star; he changes water to wine at a wedding, rebukes the sea driven by powerful winds, walks on the sea, gives sight to a man born blind, raises Lazarus who was dead for four days, performs all kinds of miracles, forgives sins, and gives power to the disciples.

16. By the same author from the discourse on Psalm 23.[176]

He comes to the heavenly gates, angels accompany him, and the gates of heaven were closed, for he had not yet ascended into heaven. For the first time now flesh, as it ascends, is shown to the heavenly powers. And so the angels who go before the Lord and savior say to the powers, "Raise your gates, you rulers, and be lifted up, you eternal gates, and the king of glory will come in."[177]

The Holy Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch and Confessor

17. From the discourse on the titular inscriptions.[178]

Here, therefore, he predicted that he would sit on a sacred throne and revealed that he was appointed to be enthroned with the most divine Spirit because of the God who dwelt in him continuously.

18. By the same author from the discourse about the soul.[179]

Before the passion he predicted his bodily death each time, saying that he would be handed over to the high priest's followers

176. Hippolytus, *On Psalm 23.7* [*Ps 24.7 (LXX 23.7)*]. *CPG* 1.1882.5.

177. See Ps 24.7 (LXX 23.7).

178. Eustathius of Antioch, *On the titular inscriptions. CPG* 2.3352. This work discusses the titles given to the Psalms.

179. Eustathius of Antioch, *On the soul (against the Arians). CPG* 2.3353.

and proclaiming the trophy of the cross.[180] But after the passion, when he rose from the dead on the third day and, since the disciples doubted that he had been raised, he appeared to them in his actual body, declares that he has real flesh with bones, presents his wounded side to their eyes, and shows them the marks of the nails.[181]

19. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways."[182]

[158] For Paul did not say that they have the same form as the Son of God; he said, "they have the same form as the image of his Son";[183] in this way he shows that the Son is one thing, but his image is something else. For the Son bears the divine marks of the Father's excellence and is an image of the Father, because children, who are like begotten from like, appear as true images of their parents. But the human being whom he wore is an image of the Son. In any case, the law of reality itself dictates this. For it is not the spirit of wisdom, which is without a body, that has the same form as human beings who have bodies, but rather the human character,[184] which was made into bodily form by the Spirit, with the same number of limbs as all the others and clothed with the same form as each of them.

20. By the same author from the same discourse.[185]

In writing to the Philippians, he teaches us very clearly that he is saying that the body has the same form as human beings when he says, "Our citizenship is in heaven, from which we also receive a savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform the body of our lowliness, so that it becomes the same form as the body of his glory."[186] If he transforms the lowly body of human beings

180. See Mt 20.18–19.
181. See Lk 24.39 and Jn 20.27.
182. Eustathius of Antioch, *Discourse on the text, "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways" (Prv 8.22). CPG* 2.3354.
183. Rom 8.29.
184. Χαρακτήρ. See Heb 1.3.
185. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
186. Phil 3.20–21.

and gives it the same form as his own body, the slanderous accusations of our opponents have been proven to be absolutely worthless.

21. By the same author from the same discourse.[187]

But just as the human being who was begotten by the virgin is said to have been born of a woman, so also is it written that he was born under the Law,[188] because he sometimes walked in accordance with the Law's instructions. For example, when he was a baby eight days old, his parents willingly hastened to circumcise him, as the evangelist Luke relates: "They brought [him] to the temple at that time, to present [him] to the Lord, fulfilling the offerings of purification by giving for sacrifice, as the Law of the Lord said, a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons."[189] If the gifts of purification were, therefore, offered for him in accordance with the Law, and if he was circumcised [159] on the eighth day, then it is not unreasonable [for Paul] to write that he was born under the Law. But the Word, as slanderers claim, was not subject to the Law, for he himself *is* the Law, and God, who purifies and sanctifies everything by a sudden stroke, did not need sacrifices of purification. But even though he assumed the human instrument from the virgin, wore it, and became subject to the Law by being purified in keeping with the status of the first-born, he went through those ceremonies, not because he needed their help, but in order to redeem from the slavery of the Law those who had been sold to the penalty of the curse.[190]

The Holy Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria

22. From the second discourse against the heresies.[191]

And just as we would not have been freed from the sin and the curse, if the flesh that the Word put on had not been human by nature (for there is nothing in common between us and something different), so the human being would not have been

187. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
188. See Gal 4.4.
189. Lk 2.22–24.
190. See Gal 3.13 and 4.5.
191. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Three discourses against the Arians* 2.70. *CPG* 2.2093.

deified, if the one who became flesh were not by nature from the Father and the Father's true and proper Word. Thus this type of joining took place in order to join the one who was human by nature to the one who shared the nature of the divinity, and to establish firmly the salvation and deification of the former. So let those who deny that the Son is from the Father by nature and proper to his substance also deny that he took true, human flesh from the ever-virgin Mary.

23. By the same author from the letter to Epictetus.[192]

They are completely mistaken if they think that, because the savior's human body exists and is said by the Scriptures to be from Mary, a quaternity is affirmed instead of a Trinity, as though something were added because of the body; for they equate the creature with the creator and imagine that the divinity can take on an addition. And they did not know that the Word did not become flesh by adding to the divinity, but in order that the flesh might rise; and the Word did not come forth from Mary to be improved, but in order to redeem the human race. How, then, can the body, which was redeemed and given life by the Word, provide an addition to divinity for the Word that gave it life?

[*160*] *24. By the same author from the same letter.*[193]

Let them hear that, if the Word had been a creature, he would not have assumed the created body in order to give it life. For what kind of help can creatures receive from a creature who itself needs salvation? But since the Word who was himself creator, became the maker of creatures, at the fullness of time he, therefore, joined that which was created to himself, in order to renew it again as creator and to be able to re-create it.

192. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Letter to Epictetus* 9. *CPG* 2.2095.

193. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Letter to Adelphius* 8. *CPG* 2.2098. Theodoret incorrectly cites the source of this quotation as the *Letter to Epictetus.*

25a. By the same author from the greater discourse about faith.[194]

But we made this addition about the text "Sit at my right hand,"[195] namely, that it referred to the Lord's body. For if "the Lord says, 'I fill heaven and earth,'"[196] as Jeremiah says, and if God encompasses everything, but is encompassed by nothing, on what kind of throne does [God] sit? And so it is the body to which [God] says, "Sit at my right hand."[197]

25b. By the same author from the same discourse.[198]

The body that grows and ages is itself a creature and a thing that is made.[199]

25c. By the same author from the same discourse.[200]

Hence [God] says, "Sit at my right hand,"[201] to the body that had as enemies the devil with the evil powers, Jews, and Greeks. And through this body he became and was called high priest and apostle,[202] through the mystery that he handed on to us, when he said, "This is my body that is broken for you,"[203] and, "The blood of the new covenant," not of the old, "which is poured out for you."[204] Now divinity has neither body nor blood, but the reason for these statements was the human being from Mary, whom he wore, about whom the apostles said, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man appointed by God for you."[205]

194. Athanasius of Alexandria, *The greater discourse about faith. CPG* 2.2803. Earlier editions of the *Eranistes* lacked the present 25b, but joined this citation and 25c as 25. The number 25 was kept for all three passages here so the enumeration of the remaining citations might remain the same. This work is attributed to Marcellus of Ancyra in *CPG*.

195. Ps 110.1 (LXX 109.1).
196. Jer 23.24.
197. Ps 110.1 (LXX 109.1).
198. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit.
199. See Lk 2.52.
200. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit.
201. Ps 110.1 (LXX 109.1).
202. See Heb 3.1.
203. 1 Cor 11.24.
204. Lk 22.20.
205. Acts 2.22.

26. By the same author from the book against the Arians.[206]

And when he says, "For this reason God also exalted him and gave him a name that is above every name," he is talking about the temple of his body,[207] not about the divinity. For the most high is not exalted, but the flesh of the most high is exalted; and the name that is [161] above every name was given to the flesh of the most high. And the Word of God was always called "God," but his flesh was acknowledged as God with him.

27. By the same author from the same discourse.[208]

And when he says, "There was not yet a Holy Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified,"[209] he means that his flesh had not yet been glorified. For the Lord of glory is not glorified,[210] but the flesh of the Lord of glory receives glory itself, when it ascends with him into heaven. And so he says that human beings did not yet have a spirit of adoption, because the firstfruit, which was taken from human beings, had not yet gone up into heaven. When Scripture, therefore, says that the Son "took" and "was glorified," it says this because of his humanity, not because of the divinity.

28. By the same author from the same discourse.[211]

This one, therefore, is true God, both before becoming a human being, and after becoming "mediator between God and human beings, Jesus Christ,"[212] the one who was united to the Father by Spirit and to us by flesh, who was mediator between God and human beings, who was not only a human being, but also God.

206. Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Incarnation and against the Arians* 2–3. *CPG* 2.2806. This work is attributed to Marcellus of Ancyra in *CPG*.
207. See Jn 2.21.
208. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 3–4.
209. Jn 7.39.
210. See 1 Cor 2.8.
211. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 22.
212. 1 Tm 2.5.

The Holy Ambrose, Bishop of Milan

29. In an exposition of faith.[213]

We confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, was begotten according to the divinity from the father, before all the ages and without a beginning, and that in the last days the same one was made flesh from the holy virgin Mary and assumed the complete human being, [composed] of a rational soul and a body; [and so he was] of the same substance as the Father according to the divinity and of the same substance as us according to the humanity. For a union of two complete natures took place in an inexpressible way. We therefore confess one Christ, one Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and we know that, even though he exists eternally with his Father according to the divinity, through which he is also creator of all things, [162] he deigned to form for himself, in an ineffable way, a temple from the holy virgin, after she gave her assent by saying to the angel, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord, let it happen to me as you say";[214] and [he deigned] to unite this temple to himself from the moment of conception, not by wearing an eternal body of his own substance from heaven, but by assuming it from the raw stuff of our substance, that is, from the virgin, and uniting it to himself.

God the Word did not change into flesh, nor did he manifest himself as an apparition; instead he preserved his own substance without change or alteration, assumed the firstfruit of our nature, and united it to himself. God the Word did not take his origin from the virgin, but even while existing eternally with his Father, deigned, because of great goodness, to unite to himself the firstfruit of our nature, not by being mingled with it, but by appearing in both substances as one and the same individual, according to the words of Scripture, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it."[215] For the Christ, God, is destroyed in my substance, which he assumed, and the same one raises the

213. Ambrose of Milan, *An exposition of faith. CPL* 167a. *CPL* lists this work among the dubious writings of Ambrose.

214. Lk 1.38.

215. Jn 2.19.

temple that was destroyed in the divine substance, in which he is also creator of all things.

Never, after the union that he deigned to unite to himself from the moment of conception, did he leave his temple, nor, because of his ineffable love for humanity, could he have left it. But the same one is passible and impassible, passible according to the humanity and impassible according to the divinity.[216] For, "Look, see me, that it is I, and that I have not changed."[217] And so after God the Word had raised his own temple and had brought about the resurrection and renewal of our nature in it, he showed this [nature] to his disciples and said, "Touch me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you see," not that I am, but "that I have";[218] [he said this] so you might see the one who has and the one who is had, and thus observe that it was not mixture, change, or alteration that took place, but a union.

Thus he displayed the marks of the nails and the wound of the spear,[219] and ate in front of the disciples,[220] in order to make them believe through all this that the resurrection of our nature had been renewed in him. And even though he remained unchangeable, unaltered, impassible, immortal, and in need of nothing according to the blessed substance of the divinity, because [163] he willingly allowed his own temple to endure all sufferings and raised it up by his own power, he brought about the complete renewal of our nature through his temple. But the universal[221] and apostolic Church officially condemns those who say that Christ was a mere human being, or that God the Word was passible, or was changed into flesh, or possessed a body that shared his own substance, or brought the body from heaven, or was an apparition; [it also condemns] those who say that God the Word was mortal and needed resurrection from the Father, or that he assumed a body without a soul, or a human being without a mind, or that the two natures of Christ became one nature by being blended together in a mixture; [it also condemns] those who do not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ is

216. "Passible" means able to undergo change or to suffer, while "impassible" means unable to do so.
217. See Lk 24.39.
218. Lk 24.39.
219. See Jn 20.27.
220. See Lk 24.41–43.
221. Καθολική.

two natures, not fused together, but one person, as he is one Christ, one Son.

30. By the same author.[222]

Consequently, if the flesh of all was subjected to insults in Christ, how can it be considered to be of one subsistent entity with the divinity? For if the Word and the flesh, which has an earthly nature, are of one subsistent entity, then the Word and the soul, which he assumed perfectly, are of one subsistent entity. For the Word is of one nature with God, according to the confession of the Father and of the Son himself, a confession that said, "I and the Father are one."[223] The Father should, therefore, also be considered to be of the same substance as the body. Why then are you still angry at the Arians, who say that the Son of God is a creature, when you yourselves say that the Father is of one substance with creatures?

31. By the same author from the letter to the emperor Gratian.[224]

Let us preserve a distinction between divinity and flesh. If the Son of God answers through both because both natures are in him, then the same one is speaking, but not always in one way to us. Look at him, as he speaks, now of glory, and at another time of human sufferings. He makes the [164] divine statements as God, since he is the Word; he makes the lowly statements as a human being, since he speaks in my subsistent entity.

32. By the same author from the same work.[225]

When that text is read that says the Lord of glory was crucified,[226] let us not think that he was crucified in his own glory. But since he is both God and a human being, God according to

222. Ambrose of Milan, *On the Sacrament of the Lord's Incarnation* 6.57. *CPL* 152.

223. Jn 10.30.

224. Ambrose of Milan, *About the faith* 2.9.77. *CPL* 150.

225. Ambrose of Milan, op. cit. 2.7.58. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

226. See 1 Cor 2.8.

the divinity, but a human being, Jesus Christ, according to the assumption of the flesh, the Lord of glory is said to have been crucified. For he shares in each nature, that is, human and divine. For he underwent suffering in the human nature, in order that the one who suffered may, without being divided, be called both Lord of glory and Son of Man, as it was written, "The one who came down from heaven."[227]

33. By the same author.[228]

Let futile investigations about words, therefore, keep silence. For the kingdom of God, as it was written, is not in persuasive words, but in proof of power.[229] Let us preserve the distinction between flesh and divinity. For one Son of God, one individual, makes both types of statements, since each nature is in him. But even if the same individual speaks, he nonetheless does not always speak in one way. For now you see in him God's glory, and at another time human beings' sufferings. He makes the divine statements as God, since he is Word; he makes the human statements as a human being, since he spoke in this nature.

34. By the same author from the discourse on the Lord's Incarnation against the Apollinarians.[230]

While we are refuting these people, others sprang up who said that Christ's body and divinity were of one nature. What hell spat up blasphemy like this? For the Arians, whose lack of faith is reinforced thanks to these people, are more tolerable; as a result there is even greater competition to deny that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of one substance. For they tried to say that the Lord's divinity and flesh are of one nature.

227. Jn 3.13.

228. Ambrose of Milan, op. cit. 2.97. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

229. See 1 Cor 2.4.

230. Ambrose of Milan, *On the Sacrament of the Lord's Incarnation* 6.49. *CPL* 152. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

[165] *35. By the same author.*[231]

And he tells me constantly that he embraces the statement made by the synod at Nicaea; but in that inquiry our fathers said that the Word of God, not the flesh, was of one substance in the Father. And they confessed that the Word came forth from the substance of the Father, while the flesh was from the virgin. So why do they offer us the name of the synod at Nicaea and then introduce novelties that our forefathers did not even think of?

36. By the same author against Apollinarius.[232]

Do not, therefore, desire the body to be equal to the divinity according to nature. For [if] you believe that the body of Christ is a true body and bring it to the altar for transformation,[233] but do not distinguish the nature of the divinity from that of the body, we shall say to you, "If you offer correctly, but do not distinguish correctly, you have sinned; keep quiet."[234] Distinguish that which belongs to us and that which is proper to the Word. As a result I did not have what was his, and he did not have what was mine. And he took what was mine to share what was properly his with us; and he undertook this for fulfillment, not for mixture.

37. By the same author after a brief interval.[235]

Let them stop saying, therefore, that the nature of the Word was changed into the nature of flesh, lest it appear that, according to the same interpretation, the nature of the Word was changed and conformed to the body's misfortunes. For that which assumed is one thing, and that which was assumed is another. Power came upon the virgin, as the angel says to her, "The power of the most high will overshadow you."[236] But that which was born was from the virgin's body. And the descent, therefore, was di-

231. Ambrose of Milan, op. cit. 6.52. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.
232. Ambrose of Milan, op. cit. 4.23.
233. Μεταποίησις.
234. Gn 4.7 (LXX).
235. Ambrose of Milan, op. cit. 6.61.
236. Lk 1.35.

vine, but the conception was human. The nature of the divinity and the spirit of the body could not, therefore, have been the same.[237]

[166] The Holy Basil, Bishop of Caesarea

38. From the discourse about thanksgiving.[238]

By weeping for his friend,[239] therefore, he revealed [his] participation in human nature, and he delivered us from extremes in two areas: He does not permit excessive softness in the face of suffering, nor insensitivity in times of pain. The Lord, therefore, became hungry after he had digested solid food, he felt thirsty when the moisture in his body was used up, and he grew weary when his muscles and nerves were strained from the journey. For the divinity was not oppressed by weariness, but the body suffered the misfortunes that accompany nature.

39. By the same author against Eunomius.[240]

For I say that being in the form of God can be the same as being in the substance of God. For just as having assumed "the form of the servant" shows that our Lord came into being in the substance of humanity, in the same way the one who says he is "in the form of God"[241] is presenting the characteristic property of the divine substance.

The Holy Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus

40. From the discourse on the new day of the Lord.[242]

He will come again,[243] in his glorious appearance, as judge of living and dead; [he will come] no longer flesh, but not without a

237. The Greek text of this last sentence seems corrupt. The translation expresses the main idea of the whole citation.

238. Basil of Caesarea, *Homily about thanksgiving* 5. *CPG* 2.2848.

239. See Jn 11.35.

240. Basil of Caesarea, *Five books against Eunomius* 1.18. *CPG* 2.2837.

241. See Phil 2.6–7.

242. Gregory of Nazianzus, *45 discourses (= 40: On holy baptism)* 45. *CPG* Supp.3010.40.

243. See Acts 1.11.

body; [he will come] with a body more like God in ways that only he understands, so that he may be seen by those who pierced him,[244] and may abide as God transcending earthly matter.

41. By the same author from the letter to Cledonius.[245]

For God and human being are two natures (since soul and body also are), [167] but they are not two sons. For there are not two human beings here, even if Paul does speak in this way of the inner human and the outer human.[246] To put it briefly, there are two separate elements from which the savior is [formed], since the visible is not the same as the invisible, and the eternal is not the same as the temporal; but they are not two separate individuals. God forbid!

42. By the same author from the first exposition to Cledonius.[247]

If anyone says that the flesh has now been laid aside and the divinity is stripped of a body and does not exist with, and will not come with this acquisition, may he not see the glorious coming. For where is the body now, if it is not with the one who assumed [it]? For it is not stored in the sun, as Manichaean nonsense says, in order to be honored through dishonor; nor has it been diffused and dissolved into the air, as the nature of a word, the aroma of perfume, or the flash of a fleeting lightning-bolt. And where is the reality of being touched after the resurrection,[248] through which he will one day be seen by those who pierced him?[249] Divinity as such is invisible.

43. By the same author from the second discourse on the Son.[250]

For as Word he was neither obedient nor disobedient, since these are proper to people who are under authority and inferior,

244. See Zec 12.10.
245. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Letter* 101.19–20. *CPG* 2.3032.
246. See 2 Cor 4.16.
247. Gregory of Nazianzus, op. cit. 25–28.
248. See Lk 24.39.
249. See Zec 12.10.
250. Gregory of Nazianzus, *45 discourses (= 30: Fourth theological oration or On the Son)* 6. *CPG* Supp.3010.30.

the former is proper to those who are more right-minded, the latter to those who deserve condemnation. But as form of a slave,[251] he comes down to fellow slaves and receives a different form; he carries in himself all of me with all that is mine, in order to consume in himself the inferior, as fire consumes wax, and the sun, vapor of the earth.

44. By the same author from the discourse on the divine manifestation.[252]

Since he came forth from the virgin, therefore, through the assumption of two contradictory realities, flesh and spirit, the first of which was assumed into God, while the other bestowed the grace of the divinity.[253]

[*168*] *45. By the same author after a brief interval.*[254]

He was sent, but as a human being. For his nature was twofold, and for this reason undoubtedly, because of the law governing a human body, he grew weary, hungry, thirsty, was in agony, and wept.

46. By the same author in the second discourse on the Son.[255]

He would be called God, not of the Word, but of the visible reality. For how could he be God of the [one who is] God in the proper sense? In the same way also he is father, not of the visible reality, but of the Word. For he was in fact twofold. As a result, the first of these will refer in the proper sense to both, while the latter will not; he will refer in the opposite way than he does to us, for he is our God in the proper sense, but he is not our fa-

251. See Phil 2.7.

252. Gregory of Nazianzus, *45 discourses (= 38: On the divine manifestation* [*nativity*]*)* 13. *CPG* Supp.3010.38. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

253. The text as cited by Theodoret is not a complete sentence.

254. Gregory of Nazianzus, op. cit. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

255. Gregory of Nazianzus, *45 discourses (= 30: Fourth theological oration or On the Son)* 8–9. *CPG* Supp.3010.30.

ther in the proper sense. And what causes heretics to stray is the joining of the words, when they are exchanged through a mixture. A sign of this is the fact that, when the natures are distinguished in thought, their names are also distinguished. Listen to Paul say, "In order that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory. . . ."[256] He is God of Christ and Father of glory. For even if both are one, it is not by nature, but by a joining. What could be more obvious than this? As a fifth point, let it be said that he took life, judgment, the inheritance of the nations, power over all flesh, glory, disciples, and all else that is mentioned. And these pertain to the humanity.

47. By the same author from the same discourse.[257]

"For there is one God, and one mediator between God and human beings, a human being Jesus Christ."[258] For as a human being he still intercedes even now for my salvation, since he is with the body that he assumed, until he makes me God through the power of the Incarnation, even though he is no longer known according to flesh, i.e., fleshly passions, and is without our sin.

[*169*] *48. By the same author from the same discourse.*[259]

Is it clear to everyone that, if one separates what is seen from what is known, [Christ] has knowledge as God, but is ignorant, he says, as a human being?[260] For we get this interpretation from the fact that the designation "son" is absolute and without qualification, since "of someone or other" was not added to "son." As a result, one can understand the ignorance in a more pious way by attributing it to the human, not to the divine.

256. Eph 1.17.
257. Gregory of Nazianzus, op. cit. 14.
258. 1 Tm 2.5.
259. Gregory of Nazianzus, op. cit. 15.
260. See Mt 24.36.

The Holy Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa

49. From the catechetical discourse.[261]

And who says this, that the infinitude of the divinity was encompassed by the limitation of the flesh, as by some receptacle?

50. By the same author from the same discourse.[262]

If a soul of a human being, which has been mixed with the body according to the necessity of the nature, is everywhere with authority, why is it necessary to say that the divinity is limited by the nature of the flesh?

51. By the same author from the same discourse.[263]

What prevents us who have acknowledged some type of union and a drawing near of a divine nature to what is human, from preserving the proper understanding of the divine, even in the drawing near? For we believe that the divine transcends all limitation, even if it is in human beings.

52. By the same author from the discourse against Eunomius.[264]

But if the [son] of Mary speaks with brothers, and if the only begotten has no brothers (for how could the concept of only begotten be preserved in the midst of brothers?); and if the same one who said, "God is a spirit,"[265] also says to the disciples, "Touch me,"[266] in order to show that only the human nature can be touched, while the divine cannot be handled; and if the one who said, "I go,"[267] is indicating a change of place, while the one who encompassed everything, "in whom," as the Apostle says, "all

261. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Great Catechetical Discourse* 10. *CPG* Supp.3150.
262. Ibid.
263. Ibid.
264. Gregory of Nyssa, *Books against Eunomius* 3.10.4. *CPG* 2.3135.
265. Jn 4.24. 266. Lk 24.39.
267. Jn 14.28.

things were created . . . and all things stood firm in him,"[268] has nothing in reality outside of himself that he becomes, by either motion or change. . . .[269]

[*170*] *53. By the same author from the same discourse.*[270]

"Exalted, therefore, by the right hand of God."[271] Who, then, was exalted? The lowly or the most high? But what is the lowly, if not the human? And what, apart from the divine, is the most high? But God, who is most high, does not need to be exalted. So the Apostle is saying that the human was exalted, and that it was exalted because it became Lord and Christ. And so through the word "made"[272] the Apostle reveals, not the eternal existence of the Lord, but the transformation, brought about through God's right hand, of the lowly into the exalted, because through this word he explains the mystery of true piety. For when he said, "Exalted by the right hand of God,"[273] he clearly reveals the ineffable divine plan of the mystery, that the right hand of God, which made all things, which is the Lord through whom all things came into being, and without whom nothing that was made exists,[274] raised up to its own height, through the union, the human being that had been united to it.

The Holy Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium

54. From the discourse on the text, "My Father is greater than I."[275]

Distinguish the natures, therefore, one of God and one of the human being. For he did not become a human out of God

268. See Col 1.16–17.

269. This citation is the incomplete protasis of a long conditional sentence; Gregory's thought as cited by Theodoret is, therefore, left unfinished.

270. Gregory of Nyssa, op. cit. 3.3.43–44.

271. Acts 2.33.

272. See Acts 2.36, where Peter says that "God made him Lord and Christ."

273. Acts 2.33.

274. Jn 1.2.

275. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 12 (Discourse on the text, "My Father is greater than I"* [*Jn 14.28*]*). CPG* 2.3245.12.

through a falling away, nor did he become God out of a human being through a development.

55. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "The Son cannot do anything on his own."[276]

For after the resurrection the Lord reveals both things together, namely, that the body is not such a body [as it was] and that this body rises. Remember the narrative. The disciples were gathered together after the passion and the resurrection, and, although the doors were closed, the Lord suddenly stood in their midst.[277] He never did this before the passion. Is it that Christ could not have done this in the past? No, since all things are possible to God.[278] But [171] he did not do it before the passion, lest you think that the divine plan was a mirage or an illusion, and lest you suppose that Christ's flesh was spiritual, or that it came down from heaven, or that it was of a different substance than our flesh. For some people have imagined all these things and think that they are honoring the Lord through them; but they have failed to see that they are slandering themselves by their expression of praise[279] and are accusing the truth of a lie, in addition to the fact that the lie is absolutely absurd. For if he assumed another body, what does that do for my body, which needs salvation? If he brought flesh down from heaven, what does that do for my flesh, which was taken from the earth?

56. By the same author from the same discourse.[280]

And so the reason why the Lord stood in the midst of the disciples, even though the doors were closed,[281] after the passion, but not before it, was that you might know that your body was sown as a physical body, but raised as a spiritual body.[282] But in order that you might not think that what rises is something different,

276. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 10b (Discourse on the text, "The Son cannot do anything on his own" [Jn 5.19]). CPG* 2.3245.10b.
277. See Jn 20.19.
278. See Mt 19.26.
279. Εὐχαριστίας.
280. Amphilochius of Iconium, op. cit. 10c. *CPG* 2.3245.10c.
281. See Jn 20.19.
282. See 1 Cor 15.44.

when Thomas did not believe in the resurrection, he shows him the marks of the nails, he shows him the scars of the wounds.[283] He who healed everybody even before the resurrection could have healed himself, especially after the resurrection, could he not? Yes, but through the marks of the nails that he shows he teaches that it is this [body], while through the closed doors by which he enters he reveals that it is not such a [body as it was]. It was this [body], in order that he might fulfill the goal of the divine plan by raising that which had died, but it was not such a body [as it was], in order that it might not lapse into corruption again and not be subject to death again.

The Blessed Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria

57. From the writings against Origen.[284]

Our likeness, in which he shared, is not transformed into the nature of the divinity, nor is his divinity changed into our likeness. For he remains God from the beginning; and he remains even though he produces our mode of being in himself.

58. By the same author from the same work.[285]

For you are again blaspheming by not keeping quiet, by slandering the Son [172] of God, and by saying things like this: "Just as the Son and the Father are one,[286] so the soul that the Son assumed and the Son himself are one."[287] You do not know that the Son and the Father are one because of the one substance and the same divinity, but the soul and the Son each has a different substance and a different nature. For if the soul of the Son and the Son are one as the Father and the Son are one, the Father and the soul will also be one, and the soul of the Son will at some time also say, "Whoever has seen me, has seen the Father."[288] But this is not the case. God forbid! For the Son and the

283. See Jn 20.27.
284. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Letter 16 (fragment). CPG* 2.2585.2c.
285. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Letter 17 (fragment). CPG* 2.2586.3.
286. This part of the quotation is based on Jn 10.30.
287. See GCS 22, 354.15–16 for the text of Origen.
288. Jn 14.9.

Father are one, because there are not different divine natures; but the soul and the Son are different in nature and in substance, since the soul, which is of the same substance as we are, also comes into being through him. For if the soul and the Son are one in the same way that the Father and the Son are one, as Origen said, then the soul will be, like the Son, "a ray of God's glory and a mark of [God's] subsistent entity."[289] But really this is impossible; it is impossible, therefore, for the Son and his soul to be one, as he and the Father are one. And what will [Origen] do, when he contradicts himself again? For he writes as follows: "For the soul, which was distressed and deeply grieved,[290] was surely not the only begotten and first-born of all creation.[291] For God the Word—superior to the soul—the Son himself says, 'I have power to put it down, and I have power to take it'."[292] If the Son is, then, superior to his soul, as he, therefore, is confessed to be superior, how can his soul be equal to God and in the form of God?[293] For when he says that the soul that emptied itself and took the form of a servant,[294] [Origen] becomes, through the excesses of his impiety, the most famous heretic of all, as we have shown. For if the Word is in the form of God and is equal to God, and he thinks that the savior's soul is in the form of God and is equal to God, since he actually dared to write this, how can that which is equal be superior? For things that fall short of the nature testify to the superiority of those that transcend them.

[173] The Holy John, Bishop of Constantinople

59. From a discourse delivered in the great church.[295]

And your master led a human being up into heaven, but you do not even share a marketplace with him. And why do I say "to heaven"? He set the human being on a royal throne, but you even drive him out of the city.

289. Heb 1.3.
290. See Mt 26.38.
291. See Col 1.15.
292. Jn 10.18. See GCS 22, 353.18–354.3 for the text of Origen.
293. See Phil 2.6.
294. See Phil 2.7.
295. John Chrysostom, *On the text, "Do not be afraid, when a human being becomes rich" [Ps 49.16 (LXX 48.17)]* 2. *CPG* 2.4414.

60. By the same author on the beginning of Psalm 41.[296]

Right up until today Paul does not stop saying, "We are ambassadors for Christ, since God exhorts [you] through us; we beg on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God."[297] And [God] did not stop there, but took the firstfruit of your nature and set it "above every rule, authority, power, and every name that is named, not only in this age, but also in the age to come."[298] What could equal this honor? The firstfruit of our race, [a race] that had offended so greatly and was dishonored, sits in such a high place and enjoys such great honor.

61. By the same author about the division of tongues.[299]

Consider how much it means to see our nature carried by the cherubim and surrounded by the whole angelic power. Please consider also Paul's wisdom and how many words he looks for so that he can express God's love for humanity. For he did not simply say "grace" and he did not simply say "riches"; no, he said, "the superabundant richness of grace in kindness."[300]

62. By the same author from a dogmatic discourse: that Christ's humble words and actions were not due to weakness in power, but to differences in a divine plan.[301]

And after the resurrection, when he saw that the disciple did not believe, he did not refuse to show him the wounds and the mark of the nails, to submit the scars to the touch of his hand, and to say, "Look and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones."[302] For this reason he did not [174] at the very beginning assume the human being in the fully developed age of life, but submitted to being conceived, born, and nursed, and to spend-

296. John Chrysostom, *Exposition of Psalm 41* [*Ps 42 (LXX 41)*] 4. *CPG* 2.4413.2.

297. 2 Cor 5.20.

298. Eph 1.21.

299. John Chrysostom, *Homily 1 on the devil as tempter* 2–3. *CPG* 2.4332.

300. Eph 2.7.

301. John Chrysostom, *On the consubstantial (= Homily 7 on the incomprehensible nature of God)* 6. *CPG* 2.4320.

302. Lk 24.39 and see Jn 20.24–29.

ing enough time on the earth to confirm this very belief through length of time and all the other factors.

63. By the same author to those who say that demons direct human affairs.[303]

Nothing was more insignificant than a human being, and nothing became more honored than a human being. The human being was the last part of rational creation. But the feet became a head and were raised to the royal throne through the firstfruit. For it is like a noble and generous person, who saw someone escape from a shipwreck, but could save only his naked body from the waves; he takes him in with hands outstretched, clothes him in a beautiful cloak, and raises him to the highest honor. This is how God acted with respect to our nature. Humanity threw away all that it had: freedom, companionship with God, life in paradise; it took a miserable life in exchange and departed from there just like a naked person from a shipwreck. But God took humanity in, and immediately clothed it and led it by the hand step by step up to heaven.

64. By the same author from the same discourse.[304]

But God made the profit greater than the penalty and led our nature up to the royal throne. And Paul cries out and says, "He has raised [us] and made [us] sit at his right hand in heaven."[305]

65. By the same author against those who keep the first Paschal Fast.[306]

He opened the heavens, made friends of those who were hated and led them up into heaven; he set our nature at the right side of the throne and bestowed countless other good things on us.

303. John Chrysostom, *Homily 1 on the devil as tempter* 2. *CPG* 2.4332.
304. Ibid.
305. Eph 2.6.
306. John Chrysostom, *Oration 3 against the Jews* 4. *CPG* 2.4327.

66. By the same author from the discourse on the assumption.[307]

Across this space and height, therefore, he raised our nature. [175] See where it lay below and where it ascended on high. It was impossible to descend lower than humanity had descended, or to ascend higher than God had raised it.

67. By the same author from the interpretation of the letter to the Ephesians.[308]

He says, "Through his good will, which he set forth in himself,"[309] that is, he was in labor with what he desired, so to speak, in order to declare the mystery to us. What mystery? That he wishes to set humanity on high. And this did indeed happen.

68. By the same author from the same interpretation.[310]

He says "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ"[311] about this [the body], not about God the Word.

69. By the same author from the same interpretation.[312]

"And even when we were dead in sins, [God] brought us back to life again in Christ."[313] And again Christ is in the midst, and the action is trustworthy. For if the beginning lives, we also live; [God] has brought both him and us back to life. Do you see that all these words refer to him according to the flesh?

70. By the same author from the Gospel according to John.[314]

For why does he add, "And dwelt among us"?[315] He is practically saying, "Do not suspect anything unusual because of the word

307. John Chrysostom, *On the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ* 3. *CPG* 2.4342.
308. John Chrysostom, *Homily 1 on the letter to the Ephesians* 4. *CPG* 2.4431.
309. Eph 1.9.
310. John Chrysostom, *Homily 3 on the letter to the Ephesians* 3. *CPG* 2.4431.
311. Eph 1.3.
312. John Chrysostom, *Homily 4 on the letter to the Ephesians* 1–2. *CPG* 2.4431.
313. Eph 2.5.
314. John Chrysostom, *Homily 11 on John* 2. *CPG* 2.4425.
315. Jn 1.14b.

'became.' For I did not mean a change in that unchangeable nature, but dwelling and inhabitation. And that which dwells would not be the same as the dwelling-place, but one thing dwells in another, since otherwise there would be no dwelling. For nothing dwells in itself. I meant different according to the substance. For God the Word and the flesh are one because of the union and the joining since there is no mixture; and the substances do not disappear, but there is an ineffable and inexpressible union."

71. By the same author from the Gospel according to Matthew.[316]

Just as a person who was standing between two individuals who were separated from one another might spread out both hands, embrace them, and join them together, this is what he did by joining the old covenant with the new, the divine nature with the human, and his status with ours.

[*176*] *72. By the same author from the discourse on the assumption of Christ.*[317]

Christ acted exactly like a person who steps in between two other people who have squared off for a fight and puts an end to the combat and discord of the antagonists. He was angry with us as God, but we looked at his anger with contempt and turned away from the master who loves humanity; and Christ put himself in the middle, brought both natures together into friendship, and himself suffered the penalty imposed on us by the Father.

73. By the same author from the same discourse.[318]

And so he offered the firstfruits of our nature to the Father, and the Father himself marveled at the gift because the one who offered it was so worthy and because what was offered was unblem-

316. John Chrysostom, *Homily 2 on Matthew* 2. *CPG* 2.4424.

317. John Chrysostom, *On the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ* 2. *CPG* 2.4342. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

318. John Chrysostom, op. cit. 3. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

ished. He therefore received it in his own hands and gave it a share in his own throne. And even more, he made it sit at the place of his right hand. Let us realize, therefore, who heard the words, "Sit at my right hand."[319] To what nature did he say, "Share my throne?"[320] It was the nature to which he said, "You are earth and to earth you shall return."[321]

74. By the same author after a few lines.[322]

I do not know what reasoning I shall use or with what words I shall speak. The weak nature, the insignificant nature, the nature that was declared least of all, has conquered all, has overcome all. Today it was judged worthy to be above all; today I received what angels have long hoped for; today archangels could gaze at things that were passionately desired, and they contemplated our nature, radiant with the glory of immortality, on the king's throne.

The Holy Flavian, Bishop of Antioch

75. From the Gospel according to Luke.[323]

The Lord inscribes in all of us the mark of piety, and [177] in different ways he reveals to our nature the paths of salvation; he also provides us with many clear proofs of his bodily visitation and of the divinity that works through the body. For he wanted to offer proof of both his natures.

76. By the same author on the divine manifestation.[324]

"Who will truly express the mighty acts of the Lord and make all his praises heard?"[325] Who would explain in a word the greatness

319. Ps 110.1 (LXX 109.1).

320. This is not a quotation from Scripture; it is a question put in God's mouth by Chrysostom in light of the text that precedes it.

321. Gn 3.19.

322. John Chrysostom, op. cit. 4. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

323. Flavian of Antioch, *Fragment on Luke. CPG* 2.3435.1.

324. Flavian of Antioch, *Fragment from a homily on the divine manifestation* [*nativity*]. *CPG* 2.3435.6.

325. Ps 106.2 (LXX 105.2).

of [God's] goodness to us? Human nature is joined to divinity, although each nature in itself endures.

Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem

77. From the fourth catechetical oration on the ten commandments. About the birth from a virgin.[326]

Believe that for our sins this only begotten Son of God came down to earth from heaven, assumed this humanity with feelings like ours, and was born of the holy virgin and the Holy Spirit, since the Incarnation took place, not through an illusion or a mirage, but in reality. He did not pass through the virgin as through a channel, but actually took flesh from her, actually ate as we do, actually drank as we do, and was actually nourished with milk. For if the Incarnation was an illusion, salvation is also an illusion. Christ was twofold, a human being as visible, and God as not visible. As a human being he truly ate, just as we do, for he had flesh with feelings like ours; but as God he nourished five thousand people with five loaves.[327] As a human being, he truly died, but as God, he raised a man who had been dead for four days.[328] As a human being, he slept on the boat,[329] and as God, he walked on the water.[330]

Antiochus, Bishop of Ptolemais

78. Untitled.[331]

Do not mix the natures, and you will not be unperceiving when it comes to the divine plan.

326. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Fourth catechesis to the candidates for baptism* 9. *CPG* 2.3585.2.
327. See Jn 6.1–15.
328. See Jn 11.38–44.
329. See Mt 8.24.
330. See Mt 14.22–27.
331. Antiochus of Ptolemais, *Homily on the nativity (fragment)* 3. *CPG* 2.4296.

[178] The Holy Hilary, Bishop and Confessor

79. In the ninth discourse about faith.[332]

Anyone who does not know Jesus Christ as true God as well as a true human being does not truly understand his own life. For it is a matter of the same danger, if we deny that Jesus Christ was either Spirit—God—or flesh of our body. "Everyone, therefore, who confesses me before human beings, I shall also confess him before my Father who is in heaven; but whoever denies me before human beings, I shall also deny him before my Father who is in heaven."[333] The Word who became flesh said this,[334] and a human being, Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory[335] taught this; he was mediator for the salvation of the Church in the very mystery through which he mediated between God and human beings,[336] for the two together were one through the natures that were united for this very reason. Through each nature he is one and the same being, but in such a way as to lack nothing in either, lest he should stop being God because he was born as a human being, or on the other hand should stop being a human being because he endures as God. This, then, is the blessing of true faith for human beings: to proclaim God and a human being; to confess flesh and Word; to know that God is also a human being, and not to be unaware that the flesh is also Word.

80. By the same author in the same discourse.[337]

And so since the only begotten [Son of] God was born a human being from the virgin, and since, in accordance with the fullness of time, he, by himself, was going to enable humanity to progress toward God, he preserved this arrangement in all the words of the gospel, in order to teach faith in himself as Son of God and to recall that he is also proclaimed as Son of Man. Al-

332. Hilary of Poitiers, *On the Trinity* 9.3. *CPL* 433. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

333. Mt 10.32–33.

334. See Jn 1.14a.

335. See 1 Cor 2.8.

336. See 1 Tm 2.5.

337. Hilary of Poitiers, op. cit. 9.5–7. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

though he is a human being, he says and does everything that is proper to God; while, on the other hand, although he is God, he says and does everything that is proper [179] to a human being; but he did this in such a way that he never spoke in this very way according to a different kind of reality except to signify both God and a human being. As a result of this, therefore, the heretics have an occasion to trick the simple and the uneducated, so that they can claim falsely that whatever he said according to the humanity was said because of a weakness in the divine nature, and since it is one and the same individual who says everything that he said, they can argue that he said everything about himself. And we do not deny either that all of his words are proper to his own nature. But the one Christ is both a human being and God; at the time he was a human being, he was not God for the first time, nor, when he was a human being, was he not also God; nor, after the human being [was] in the Lord, was the Word not human nor was the Word not God; if all this is true, then the mystery of his words must be one and the same as the mystery of his birth. And whenever, according to the occasion, you distinguish the human being in him from the God, then distinguish the words of the God and of the human being. And when you confess [that he is] God and a human being, distinguish on the occasion the words of God and of a human being. And when [reference is to] God and a human being, or again [to] a human being entirely and God entirely, consider the occasion; if something like this was said to shed light on that particular occasion, then adapt what was said to the occasion. But since he was God before he was a human being, and then was also a human being and God, and then, after being both a human being and God, he was also totally a human being and totally God, do not confuse the mystery of the divine plan because of the words and actions. For in keeping with the quality of the classes and the natures he had to use one type of speech for things in accordance with the mystery when the human being was not yet born, another when he was going to his death, and still another when he became eternal. He displayed all these things, therefore, and as Christ Jesus, one who was born a human being with our body, he spoke in the way our nature normally does, even as he was God. For although he performed the works of our nature in birth, in suffering, and in death, he nevertheless did all of this through the power of his own nature.

[*180*] *81. By the same author in the same discourse.*[338]

You do see, do you not, that the confession of him as God and a human being is done in such a way that death can be ascribed to the human being, and the resurrection of the flesh to God? For observe the nature of God in the power of the resurrection, and you will recognize in the death the divine plan in accordance with the human being. And since both took place in their proper natures, please remember that the Jesus Christ who is both is one. The reason I have explained this briefly, therefore, is to help us remember that both natures are observed in our Lord Jesus Christ, for he who was in God's form took a servant's form.[339]

The Most Holy Bishop Augustine

82. By the same author from the letter to Volusian.[340]

He has now appeared as a mediator between God and human beings,[341] so that he can join together both natures in the unity of the person, strengthening tradition with truth and blending truth with tradition.

83. By the same author in the explanation of the Gospel according to the holy John.[342]

Why, then, you heretic, since Christ is God and a human being, if [he acts] as a human being, do you misrepresent God? He raises up human nature in himself, but you dare to degrade his divine nature.

338. Hilary of Poitiers, op. cit. 9.11, 14. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

339. See Phil 2.6–7.

340. Augustine of Hippo, *Letter* 137.9. *CPL* 262. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

341. See 1 Tm 2.5.

342. Augustine of Hippo, *Treatise on the Gospel of John* 78.2. *CPL* 278. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

84. By the same author in the discourse about the explanation of the faith.[343]

For our task is to believe, and his is to know. So let God the Word himself, which has taken on everything that is proper to a human being, be a human being, and let the human being that was assumed, which has taken on everything that is proper to God, be nothing else but what God is. But because it is said that he became flesh and was mixed, [181] one must not think that his substance was diminished. God knew how to mix himself without personal corruption and God is truly mixed. God knew how to assume [something] in himself so that he cannot be increased by addition, just as he knew how [to do it, when] he poured himself in totally, so that he could undergo no diminution. Let us not think that God and a human being were mixed together, therefore, because of the weakness of our understanding and because we form conjectures about the data of sensible experience from the blending of creatures equal to one another; and let us not imagine that, because of such a blending of the Word and the flesh, faith says that a kind of body was formed, lest we somehow think that, just as things are mixed together, two natures were brought together into one subsistent entity. For a mixture like this destroys both elements. But God, who embraces, but is not embraced, who seeks, but is not sought, who fills, but is not filled, who is totally present everywhere and encompasses the whole by pouring out his power, as one who shows mercy—this God was mixed with the human nature; the nature of a human being was truly not mixed with the divine one.[344]

343. *The book of correction* 3.27–4.12. *CPL* 515. This was written by a monk named Leporius, not by Augustine. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

344. This final sentence expresses the key element of Cyril's notion of a union according to the subsistent entity; see citation 92, below. Since this text appeared in the *Tome* of Leo, it does not prove that Theodoret himself accepted this explanation.

Severian, Bishop of Gabala

85. On the birth of Christ.[345]

O mystery truly heavenly and earthly, conquered and unconquered, seen and unseen. For such was the Christ who was born: heavenly and earthly, conquered and unconquered, seen and unseen. He was heavenly in accordance with the nature of the divinity, earthly in accordance with the nature of the humanity. He was seen in accordance with the flesh, unseen in accordance with the Spirit; he was conquered in accordance with the body, unconquered in accordance with the Word.

Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople

86. From the letter to Eupsychius.[346]

What, then, should the all wise one have done? Through the mediation of the assumed flesh and through a union of God the Word with the [182] human being born of Mary he becomes both. As a result, Christ, who is a product of the union of both, can remain in his own glory from the impassible nature even while directing [creation] through divinity, and at the same time can encounter death in the flesh; he can also, through death, show contempt for death to the nature of the flesh that is of the same kind and can confirm by his end the justice of the new covenant.

Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria

87. From the letter to Nestorius.[347]

And because the natures that were brought together in the true union were different, there is one God and Son from both, and

345. Severian of Gabala, *On the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. CPG* 2.4657. *CPG* lists this text among the dubious and spurious writings of John Chrysostom.

346. Atticus of Constantinople, *Letter to Eupsychius. CPG* 3.5655.

347. Cyril of Alexandria, *(Letter 4) to Nestorius. CPG* 3.5304.

the difference between the natures was not destroyed by the union.

88. By the same author from the letter to the Orientals.[348]

For there was a union of two natures; that is why we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. According to this understanding of the union without mixture we confess that the holy virgin is mother of God, because the Word of God took flesh and became human, and, from the moment of conception, united to himself the temple that was taken from her.

89. By the same author from the same letter.[349]

For there is one Lord Jesus Christ, even if there is an awareness of the distinction between the natures, of which we say an ineffable union was formed.

90. By the same author.[350]

And so, reflecting, as I said, upon the manner in which the Incarnation took place, we see that two natures came together with each other, without mixture or division, in accordance with an indestructible union. For the flesh is flesh and not divinity, even though it became God's flesh. And in the same way, the Word is God and not flesh, even if he made the flesh his own through the divine plan.

91. By the same author from the interpretation of the letter to the Hebrews.[351]

For even if the natures of the things that came together into unity, i.e., flesh and God, are perceived as different and not equal to one another, still, the Son who [is] from both is, therefore, one, and only one.

348. Cyril of Alexandria, *(Letter 39) to John of Antioch. CPG* 3.5339.
349. Ibid.
350. Cyril of Alexandria, *(Letter 45) to Succensus. CPG* 3.5345.
351. Cyril of Alexandria, *Fragments on the letter to the Hebrews. CPG* 3.5209.3.

[*183*] *92. By the same author from the same interpretation.*[352]

Even though the only begotten Word of God was said to be united to flesh according to subsistent entity, we do not say that any mixture of the natures with one another occurred, but rather that each one remained what it was.

93. By the same author from the Scholia.[353]

Even though the Father's Word, born of a virgin, was God according to nature, he was called a human being, because he shared in a body and blood like us.[354] For this is how he appeared to people on earth;[355] he did not abandon what he was, but came into being by assuming our humanity completely and in accordance with its proper delineation.

94. By the same author from the discourse on the Incarnation.[356]

Even before the Incarnation, then, he is one true God, and in humanity he remained what he was, is, and will be. We must not, therefore, divide the one Lord Jesus Christ into a human being in the proper sense and God in the proper sense; but we say that it is one and the same Christ Jesus, for we know the difference between the natures and we keep them from being mixed with one another.

95. By the same author after an interval.[357]

Understand clearly that one thing dwells in another, i.e., the divine nature dwells in humanity and did not undergo any mix-

352. Ibid.

353. Cyril of Alexandria, *Scholia on the Incarnation of the Only Begotten. CPG* 3.5225. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

354. See Heb 2.14.

355. See Bar 3.35–37 (LXX 3.36–38).

356. Cyril of Alexandria, op. cit. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

357. Cyril of Alexandria, op. cit. This citation is also found in the *Tome* of Pope Leo I.

ture, blending, or change into something that it had not been. For that which is said to dwell in something else does not become the same as that in which it dwells, but is perceived rather as one thing in something else. In the nature of the Word and of the humanity he shows us only difference. For Christ is perceived as one out of both. He very carefully preserved the lack of mixture, therefore, and says that "the Word dwelt among us."[358] For he knew that there is one only begotten Son who became flesh and became human.

Orthodox. You have heard the great lights of the world, my friend, you have seen the rays of their teaching; and you have learned accurately that they showed that, not only after the birth, but also after the saving [184] passion, the resurrection, and the assumption, the union of the divinity and the humanity involved no mixture.

Eranistes. I didn't think that they divided the natures after the union, but I did find a great deal of division.

Orthodox. It is mad boldness to wag your tongue against those men who are noble champions of the faith. But I shall also provide you with the words of Apollinarius, so that you may know that even he says that the union was without mixture. Listen, then, to what he says.

Apollinarius

96. From the book, A Summary.[359]

The [qualities] of God and of the body are united. The creator deserving of adoration is eternal wisdom and power; this is due to the divinity. The Son of Mary was born in the last age, adores God, advances in wisdom, and is confirmed in power; this is due to the body. Suffering for sin and the curse passed away and changed into impassibility and blessing; but the flesh did not pass away, and will not pass away and will not change into something incorporeal.

358. Jn 1.14b.
359. Apollinarius, *To Diodore or the book, "A Summary." CPG* 2.3657.

97. And then after a brief interval:[360]

Human beings are of the same substance as irrational animals in accordance with the irrational body, but they are of a different substance as rational beings. And in the same way God, who is of the same substance as human beings in accordance with the flesh, is of a different substance insofar as he is Word and God.

98. And in another place he says this:[361]

The qualities of things that are mixed together are blended but not destroyed, so that in some way they are also different from the things with which they were mixed, as wine is from water, and there is no mixing with a body, nor is it like bodies [mixing] with bodies; but it is also unmixed, so that on each occasion, according to necessity, the power of the divinity can either stand alone or be mixed together, as happened in the case of the Lord's fast.[362] Since the divinity was blended in for self-sufficiency, hunger was suppressed; but when [the divinity] stopped setting self-sufficiency in opposition to need, hunger came about in order to destroy the devil. If mixture involving bodies was free of change, how much more true is this of mixture involving the divinity?

[*185*] *99. And in another place he says this:*[363]

If the mixture with iron, which shows that fire [affects] the iron so it can do the work of fire, did not change its nature, then the union of God with the body does not change the body, even though the body offers divine powers to those who can touch it.

100. He immediately adds to this:[364]

If a human being has both a soul and a body, and they remain even when they are in a unity, how much more does Christ, who has divinity as well as a body, have each of them continue as they are and unmixed?

360. Ibid.
361. Ibid.
362. See Mt 4.1–11.
363. Apollinarius, op. cit.
364. Ibid.

101. And again soon after:[365]

For the human nature shares in the divine power to the best of its ability, but it is different, as smallest is different from greatest. And God's human being is a servant, but God is not a servant of the human being or of himself. And the human being is a creature of God, but God is not a creature either of the human being or of himself.

102. And soon after:[366]

"What he sees the Father doing, he also does himself."[367] If someone takes this text as referring to Christ according to the divinity, and not according to the flesh, according to which the one who became flesh is different from the Father who did not become flesh, such a person is distinguishing two divine powers; but there is no such distinction, nor is this said in reference to the divinity.

103. Then he also added this:[368]

As the human being is not irrational, even though the rational part is attached to the irrational, so too the savior is not a creature, even though the created body is attached to the uncreated God.

104. He also adds this to that:[369]

The invisible remains invisible, even when it has been joined to a visible body and has been seen through it; it also remains free of composition, insofar as it is not limited by the body. And the body remains within its own limits and receives union with God in accordance with the fact that it is given life; and that which is given life does not give life.

365. Ibid.
366. Ibid.
367. Jn 5.19.
368. Ibid.
369. Ibid.

105. And soon after he again said this:[370]

Even though the mixture of the soul with the body exists from the beginning according to a natural union, it does not make the soul visible through the body or [186] transform it into the other properties of the body, so that it can be cut or diminished. If this is true, how much more immutable is the union of a body with God, who is not naturally one with a body by nature? And if the body of the human being remains in its own nature, even when it has been given a soul, then, in the case of Christ, the mixture did not transform the body so that it no longer is a body.

106. And after a long interval again he added this:[371]

Whoever confesses that soul and body are proven to be one by Scripture contradicts himself when he says that such a union of the Word and a body is a change, when this change is not observed in the case of a soul.

107. Listen to him as he again cries out clearly:[372]

If those people who deny that the Lord's flesh continues to exist are wicked, how much worse are those who do not confess that he became flesh to begin with?

108. And in the little book on the Incarnation he again wrote this:[373]

Thus he says the words, "Sit at my right hand,"[374] as though [speaking] to a human being, for they were not said to the one who, as God the Word, sits forever on a throne of glory after the ascent from earth; but they were said to the one who has now been raised to heavenly glory as a human being, just as the apostles say: "For David did not go up into heaven; but he says, 'The

370. Ibid.
371. Ibid.
372. Ibid.
373. Apollinarius, *On the Incarnation. CPG* 2.3649.
374. Ps 110.1 (LXX 109.1).

Lord said to my Lord, sit at my right hand.'"[375] The command that initiates the sitting is human, but the dignity of sitting with God, whom countless thousands serve and before whom infinite throngs stand, is divine.

109. And soon after:[376]

For he puts enemies in subjection, not as to God, but as to a human being, so that the same one can be both visible God and a human being. For Paul teaches that the text, "Until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet,"[377] is spoken as to a human being, when he says that his triumph was clearly his own in accordance with the divinity. "According to the power," he says, "by which he can also subject everything to himself."[378] See that divinity and humanity exist inseparably in the one person.

110. And after a brief interval:[379]

[187] "Glorify me, Father, with yourself, with the glory that I had with you before the world existed."[380] He speaks of glorifying as a human being, but he reveals that he possesses the glory from eternity as God.

111. And then soon after:[381]

But let us not be humiliated because we think that worship of the Son of God, even with the human likeness, is degrading; let us rather [be humbled as we][382] glorify him with royal glory as a royal figure, even though he appears in a poor garment, especially when we see that the garment itself has been glorified, as was proper for the body of God, the savior of the world, the seed of eternal life, the instrument of divine powers, the destroyer of all evil, the abolisher of death, and the first cause of resurrec-

375. Acts 2.34.
376. Apollinarius, op. cit.
377. Ps 110.1 (LXX 109.1).
378. Phil 3.21.
379. Apollinarius, op. cit.
380. Jn 17.5.
381. Apollinarius, op. cit.
382. The Greek offers no finite verb in this part of the sentence; the verb from the first part is understood here as a parallel to the construction of the second sentence in this citation.

tion. For even though it had its nature from human beings, it also [had] life from God and power and divine excellence from heaven.

112. And soon after:[383]

We worship the body, therefore, as we do the Word; we share in the body as in the Spirit.

Orthodox. Please observe that even the first one to introduce the mixing of the natures was shown to have been openly speaking of difference. He called the body a garment, a creature, and an instrument. And he also even called it a servant, which none of us has ever dared to say. He also said that the body was judged worthy to sit at the right hand, and he expressed many other ideas rejected by your barren heresy.

Eranistes. Why did he speak so much about difference, when he was the first to introduce mixing?

Orthodox. The power of truth forces even those who battle mightily against it to agree with what it says. But, if you like, let us also undertake a discussion of the Lord's impassibility.

Eranistes. You know that musicians customarily relax the strings and loosen the pegs, so as to release the tension. If things that are totally devoid of reason and soul need some rest, then surely we who are endowed with soul and reason shall do nothing strange, if we adapt the task to our strength. Let us, therefore, stop until tomorrow.

[188] *Orthodox.* Holy David recommends concern about praying to God day and night;[384] but nevertheless let us do what you said and keep the investigation of the remaining material for tomorrow.

383. Apollinarius, op. cit.
384. See perhaps Ps 1.2.

IMPASSIBLE
DIALOGUE THREE

ORTHODOX. In our earlier investigations and discussions we showed that God the Word is immutable and became human, not by changing into flesh, but by taking a complete human nature. But divine Scripture, as well as the teachers of the churches and the lights of the world, taught us clearly that even after the union [the divine Word] remained what he was, unmixed, impassible, unchangeable, and unlimited, and that he preserved intact the nature that he assumed. So now the topic of the passion still lies before us, and it is a very useful one, for he has bestowed on us the waters of salvation.

Eranistes. I too have felt that this is a fruitful topic. But nevertheless I shall not follow the previous format, instead I shall ask the questions.

Orthodox. And I shall answer without fear of the change in format. For the advocate of the truth possesses the power of the truth, not only when he asks the questions, but also when he is questioned. So ask whatever you wish.

Eranistes. Who do you say suffered the passion?

Orthodox. Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Eranistes. So a human being gave us salvation?

Orthodox. Did we confess that our Lord Jesus Christ was only a human being?

Eranistes. Well then, explain now what you believe Christ is.

Orthodox. The incarnate Son of the living God.

Eranistes. Is the Son of God God?

Orthodox. [He is] God, possessing the same substance as the Father who begot [him].

Eranistes. Then God suffered the passion.

Orthodox. If he was nailed to the cross without a body, attribute the passion to the divinity; but if he became human by tak-

ing flesh, why do you allow that which can suffer to be impassible, while subjecting the impassible to suffering?

[190] *Eranistes.* But he assumed flesh for this reason: so that the impassible might endure suffering through that which could suffer.

Orthodox. You call him impassible and attribute suffering to him.

Eranistes. I said that he took flesh in order to suffer.

Orthodox. If he possessed a nature that could suffer and would have suffered without flesh, then the flesh is superfluous.

Eranistes. The divine nature is immortal, but that of the flesh is mortal. The immortal nature was, therefore, united to the mortal nature, in order to taste death through it.

Orthodox. That which is immortal by nature does not suffer death, even when joined to something that is mortal; and this is quite easy to ascertain.

Eranistes. Prove it and resolve the controversy.

Orthodox. Do you say that the human soul is immortal or mortal?

Eranistes. Immortal.

Orthodox. And is the body mortal or immortal?

Eranistes. Obviously mortal.

Orthodox. And do we say that the human being is composed of these natures?

Eranistes. We do.

Orthodox. The immortal has, therefore, been joined to the mortal.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. But when the joining or union is dissolved, the mortal is terminated by death, while the soul remains immortal, even though sin introduced death. Or don't you think that death is a punishment?

Eranistes. Divine Scripture does teach this, for we learn from Scripture that after forbidding Adam to partake of the tree of knowledge, God added, "On the day on which you eat of it, you shall die with death."[1]

1. Gn 2.17.

Orthodox. So death is a punishment for those who have sinned.

Eranistes. I agree.

Orthodox. Then why does only the body experience the punishment of death, when the soul and body sinned together?

Eranistes. Because the body looked evilly at the tree, stretched out its hands, and plucked the forbidden fruit. And the mouth itself then [191] chewed it with its teeth and ground it with its molars. Next, the esophagus received it and sent it to the stomach, which digested it and handed it on to the liver. And the liver transformed what it received into the nature of blood and transmitted it to the *vena cava,* which passed it on to the adjoining veins, and they sent it through the bloodstream to the body. And in this way the theft of the forbidden food permeated the whole body. So it was right for the body alone to experience the punishment due to sin.

Orthodox. From a physiological point of view you have explained in detail the digestive process, and [shown] how many parts of the body food passes through and how many changes it undergoes before it is transformed into the nature of the body. But you were still unwilling to understand the fact that without a soul the body performs none of the functions that were mentioned. For when it has been abandoned by the soul that was joined to it, it is left without breath, speechless, and immobile. An eye sees neither badly nor well, the ears do not take in the sound of voices, the hands are not moved, the feet do not walk; it is like an instrument deprived of a musician. So how can you say that only the body sinned, a body that cannot even take a breath without a soul?

Eranistes. The body shares in life through the soul, but it also procures for the soul the acquisition of sin, which makes it liable to punishment.

Orthodox. How? In what way?

Eranistes. It enables the soul to look in an evil way through the eyes, to hear things that are hurtful through the ears, to speak destructively through the tongue, and to act unlawfully through the other limbs.

Orthodox. It seems that the deaf, the blind, and those who have lost the use of other parts of the body we should call happy. For their souls do not participate in the body's wickedness. Why, my brilliant friend, have you mentioned the culpable actions of the body, but ignored those that are praiseworthy? For it is also possible to look in a kindly and loving way, to wipe away a tear of contrition, to listen to the words of God, to incline the ear to those in need, to sing the creator's praise with the tongue, to teach the neighbor his duty, to move the hands for mercy, and, in brief, to use the parts of the body for the perfect acquisition of virtue.

Eranistes. This is true.

[192] *Orthodox.* So keeping and breaking laws are common to both soul and body.

Eranistes. They are.

Orthodox. It seems to me that the soul even takes the lead in both, since it employs reason before the body [acts].

Eranistes. What do you mean?

Orthodox. The mind first sketches virtue or vice and then gives it shape in this way: It uses the parts of the body as instruments, but with the colors and materials appropriate to each.

Eranistes. That seems right.

Orthodox. So if it sins with the body, or rather is the cause of sin (because it is thought to guide and govern the living being), tell me why it shares in the sin, but does not share in the punishment?

Eranistes. And how could the immortal [soul] partake of death?

Orthodox. But it would nonetheless be just for [the soul], which had a share in the transgression, to share in the punishment.

Eranistes. It would.

Orthodox. But it did not share [in the punishment].

Eranistes. Certainly not.

Orthodox. But in the life to come it will be handed over to Gehenna along with the body.

Eranistes. The Lord said this: "Do not be afraid of those who

kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; fear rather the one who can destroy both the soul and the body in Gehenna."[2]

Orthodox. So in this life the soul escaped death because it is immortal, but in that life it will suffer punishment, not by experiencing death, but by being chastised while alive.

Eranistes. Divine Scripture also teaches this.

Orthodox. It is impossible, therefore, for the immortal nature to experience death.

Eranistes. That is obvious.

Orthodox. Then how can you say that God the Word tasted death? For if [193] it was obvious in that case that this created, immortal entity cannot become mortal, how could the uncreated and eternally immortal creator of mortal and immortal natures partake of death?

Eranistes. We are also aware of his immortal nature, but we say that he partook of death in the flesh.

Orthodox. But we have shown clearly, that an entity that is immortal by nature can in no way partake of death. For even the soul, which was created with, and joined to the body, and shared in its sin, did not share in death with it because of its immortal nature and that alone. Let's look at this same point in another way.

Eranistes. Nothing prevents us from using every means to enable us to find the truth.

Orthodox. Let's proceed, then, as follows. Do we say that certain people are teachers of virtue and vice, while others are their disciples?

Eranistes. We do.

Orthodox. And do we say that the teacher of virtue deserves greater rewards?

Eranistes. Absolutely.

Orthodox. And do you say in the same way that the teacher of evil deserves a double and triple dose of punishment?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. In which group is the devil to be placed? Do we say that he is a teacher or a disciple?

2. Mt 10.28.

Eranistes. He is a teacher of teachers. For he is both father and teacher of all evil.

Orthodox. Which human beings were his first disciples?

Eranistes. Adam and Eve.

Orthodox. And who received the sentence of death?

Eranistes. Adam and his whole family.

Orthodox. So the disciples suffered punishment for the evil they learned; but the teacher, who we just said deserved a double and triple dose of punishment, avoided chastisement.

Eranistes. Apparently.

[194] *Orthodox.* But even though these cases turned out like this, we still know and say that the judge is just.

Eranistes. Absolutely.

Orthodox. Well then, if he was just, why didn't he make him pay for his evil teaching?

Eranistes. He prepared the unquenchable fire of Gehenna for him. For he says, "Go, accursed ones, into the eternal fire that has been prepared for the devil and his angels."[3] But in this case he did not share in death with his disciples because he had an immortal nature.

Orthodox. So those who have committed even the most terrible sins cannot experience death, if they happen to have an immortal nature.

Eranistes. I agree.

Orthodox. Then if even the founder and teacher of evil himself did not experience death because of the immortality of his nature, how can you keep from trembling when you say that the source of immortality and righteousness experienced death?

Eranistes. If we say that he suffered the passion unwillingly, you would have a just basis for the accusation you bring against us. But if we preach a passion freely-chosen and a death accepted voluntarily, then you should not accuse us, but should praise his superabundant love. For he suffered willingly and chose to experience death.

Orthodox. It appears that you know nothing at all about the divine nature. For the Lord God wills nothing that is contrary

3. Mt 25.41.

to his nature, and he can do whatever he wills. But he wills what is in harmony with and suitable to his own nature.

Eranistes. We have learned that all things are possible for God.[4]

Orthodox. When you make general statements, you are also including in your discourse things that are proper to the devil's domain. For the one who states everything absolutely has spoken at the same time of good things and their opposites.

Eranistes. Didn't the noble Job make the absolute statement, "I know that you can do all things, and nothing is impossible for you"?[5]

Orthodox. If you were to read what the just man said before that, [195] you would also find there the meaning of these words. He said, "Remember that you formed me as clay and you turn me back into earth; did you not squeeze me out like milk and press me like cheese? You clothed me with skin and flesh, and with bones and nerves you threaded me. You provided me with life and pity, and your care protected my spirit."[6] To this he adds, "Possessing this in myself,[7] I know that you can do all things and nothing is impossible for you."[8] Wasn't he saying, therefore, that whatever relates to these matters can pertain to the pure nature, the God of the universe?

Eranistes. Nothing is impossible for the all-powerful God.

Orthodox. And therefore the all-powerful God can also sin, according to your definition.

Eranistes. Not at all.

Orthodox. Why?

Eranistes. Because he doesn't want to sin.

Orthodox. Why not?

Eranistes. Because sinning is foreign to that nature.

Orthodox. So he cannot do many things, for there are many kinds of sins.

4. See Jb 10.13 (LXX); Mt 19.26, and Mk 10.27.
5. Jb 10.13 (LXX).
6. Jb 10.9–12.
7. The LXX reads σεαυτῷ, referring to God. Theodoret's text reads ἑαυτῷ, which can only refer grammatically to Job.
8. Jb 10.13 (LXX).

Eranistes. God does not will and cannot do such things as these.

Orthodox. Nor those things that are contrary to the divine nature.

Eranistes. What kinds of things?

Orthodox. For example: We have learned that God is both intelligible and true light.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. But we would not say that he either willed to, or could have become darkness.

Eranistes. Not at all.

Orthodox. Furthermore, divine Scripture says that his nature is invisible.

Eranistes. It does.

Orthodox. But we would not say that it could ever become visible.

Eranistes. Definitely not.

Orthodox. Nor comprehensible.

Eranistes. No.

Orthodox. For it is incomprehensible and absolutely transcendent.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. So the one who is would not become one who is not.

[196] *Eranistes.* Unthinkable.

Orthodox. Nor would the Father become Son.

Eranistes. That is impossible.

Orthodox. Not would the unbegotten one become begotten.

Eranistes. How could that be?

Orthodox. Nor would the Son ever become Father.

Eranistes. Never.

Orthodox. Nor would the Holy Spirit become Son or Father.

Eranistes. All these cases are impossible.

Orthodox. We also find many other instances like these that are equally impossible. For the eternal will not be subject to time, nor will the uncreated be created or made, nor will the infinite be limited; and so on in similar cases.

Eranistes. None of these are possible.

Orthodox. We have discovered many things, therefore, that are impossible for the all-powerful God.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. But the inability to do any of these things is a sign of unlimited power, not of weakness, whereas the ability to do them would, I think, prove lack of power, not power.

Eranistes. What do you mean by this?

Orthodox. Each of these cases proclaims that God is immutable and unchangeable. For the good person's inability to become evil is a sign of overwhelming goodness, and this, together with the fact that the just person would never become unjust and that the truthful person would not become a liar, shows that there is steadfast reliability in truth and justice. In the same way the true light would not become darkness, nor would the one who is become non-being; for he possesses eternal existence and is unchangeable light. And if you look at everything else in this way, you will discover that inability reveals supreme power.

The divine Apostle also understood and expressed in this way the impossibility of such things in the case of God. For in writing to the Hebrews he says this: "So that through two unchangeable things, in which God cannot lie, we may have great consolation";[9] [with these words] he shows that inability is not weakness, but is great [197] power itself. For he says that God is true in such a way that falsehood can never be in him. And so the power of truth is shown through the lack of power. And when he wrote to the blessed Timothy, he also added this: "The saying is trustworthy; for if we have died with him, we shall also live [with him]; if we endure, we shall also rule [with him]; if we deny, he will also deny us; if we do not believe, he remains faithful, for he cannot deny himself."[10] And so the words "he cannot" again reveal unlimited power. For he says that, even if every human being would deny him, he is God and he does not give up possession of his own nature. For he possesses indestructible existence, and the words, "he cannot deny himself"

9. Heb 6.18.
10. 2 Tm 2.11–13.

show this. So the inability to change for the worse reveals enormous power.

Eranistes. These statements are true and in harmony with the divine texts.

Orthodox. If many things, i.e., those that are contrary to the divine nature, are impossible for God, therefore, since you acknowledge this in all the other qualities that are in accordance with his nature, such as goodness, righteousness, truth, invisibility, incomprehensibility, infinity, eternity, and whatever else we say pertains to God, please tell me why you say that only immortality and impassibility are mutable? And why do you allow capacity for change in their case and attribute to God a power that is a sign of weakness?

Eranistes. We learned this from the divine Scripture. For the divine John proclaims, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son."[11] And the divinely inspired Paul says, "For if we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son when we were enemies, how much more, once we have been reconciled, shall we be saved in his life."[12]

Orthodox. These words are true, for they are divine words. But remember what we have often agreed to confess.

Eranistes. What do you mean?

Orthodox. We agreed to confess that the Son of God, God the Word, did not appear without a body, but assumed a complete human nature.

Eranistes. We did agree to confess this.

Orthodox. So if he took a body and a human soul, that is why he was also called a Son of Man.

[198] *Eranistes.* True.

Orthodox. Our Lord Jesus Christ is, therefore, truly God and truly a human being, for he always possessed one of these natures and truly took the other.

Eranistes. This cannot be denied.

Orthodox. So he suffered the passion as a human being, but remained beyond suffering as God.

11. Jn 3.16.
12. Rom 5.10.

Eranistes. Then why does the divine Scripture say that the Son of God suffered?

Orthodox. Because the body that suffered was his body. Let us look at it this way: When we hear the divine Scripture say, "It happened after Isaac grew old, that his eyesight grew dim,"[13] where is our mind led and on what is it fixed: on the soul or on the body of Isaac?

Eranistes. Obviously on the body.

Orthodox. We don't suppose, therefore, that the soul also shared in the suffering of blindness?

Eranistes. Not at all.

Orthodox. We say that only the body was deprived of the sense of sight.

Eranistes. We do.

Orthodox. And furthermore, when we hear Amaziah say to the prophet Amos, "Seer, go to the land of Judah,"[14] and when we hear Saul ask, "Where is the house of the visionary,"[15] we're not thinking about something bodily, are we?

Eranistes. No.

Orthodox. And yet the words indicate good health in the organ of sight.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. But nevertheless we know that, when the power of the Spirit is bestowed on more purified souls, it instills the grace of prophecy, and this grace enables them to see hidden realities and caused those who see these things to be called seers and visionaries.

Eranistes. What you say is true.

[199] *Orthodox.* Then let us consider another point.

Eranistes. What is that?

Orthodox. When we hear the account of the divine Gospels telling that they brought to the Lord a paralyzed man lying on a bed,[16] do we say that the weakness of the limbs refers to the soul or to the body?

Eranistes. To the body, obviously.

13. Gn 27.1.
14. Am 7.12.
15. 1 Sm 9.18.
16. See Mt 9.2.

Orthodox. And when we read the letter to the Hebrews and find that passage where the Apostle says, "Stretch out, therefore, your weakened hands and enfeebled knees, and make straight paths for your feet, so that the lame may not be turned aside, but may rather be cured,"[17] do we say that the divine Apostle was saying this about the limbs of the body?

Eranistes. Definitely not.

Orthodox. Shall we say instead that he is taking away weakness of soul and cowardice, and is exhorting the disciples to courage?

Eranistes. Absolutely.

Orthodox. But we do not find these distinctions made by the divine Scripture. For when it gave an account of Isaac's blindness, it did not mention his body, but simply said that Isaac was blind. And when it called the prophets seers and visionaries, it did not say that their souls saw and had visions of the hidden realities, but referred to the persons themselves.[18]

Eranistes. That is correct.

Orthodox. And it did not show that the paralytic's body was feeble, but called the man a paralytic.[19]

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. And the divine Apostle did not mention the souls by name, even though he wanted to strengthen them and spur them on.[20]

Eranistes. He did not.

Orthodox. But when we investigate the meaning of the words, we realize that certain things refer to the soul while others pertain to the body.

Eranistes. And it is right to do this, for God made us rational.

Orthodox. Then let us also use this power of reason in reference to the one who made us and saved us, and let us get to know what is proper to his divinity and what is proper to the humanity.

17. Heb 12.12–13.
18. See Gn 27.1; Am 7.12; 1 Sm 9.18.
19. See Mt 9.2.
20. See Heb 12.12–13.

[200] *Eranistes.* But if we do this, we shall destroy that intense union.

Orthodox. But when we did this with respect to Isaac, the prophets, the paralytic, and the others, we did not destroy the natural union of the soul and the body, nor did we separate the souls from their own bodies; but we distinguished, by thought alone, what is proper to the soul and what to the body. If we do this with souls and bodies, therefore, isn't it wicked to refuse to do it with our savior, and instead to mix the natures, even though they differ from one another, not simply in the way that the soul differs from the body, but to the extent that the temporal differs from the eternal, and the created from the creator?

Eranistes. The divine Scripture says that the Son of God underwent suffering.

Orthodox. And we're not saying that someone else suffered, but nevertheless we know, from the teaching of the divine Scripture, that the nature of the divinity is impassible. And so when we hear about impassibility, suffering, and a union of humanity and divinity, we say that the passible body suffered and we confess that the impassible nature remained free of suffering.

Eranistes. So the body bestowed salvation on us.

Orthodox. It was the body of one who was not a mere human being, but the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God. And if you think that this body is insignificant and worthless, how can you consider its type to be sacred and a bringer of salvation? But if the type is worthy of reverence and adoration, how can the original itself be contemptible and insignificant?

Eranistes. I do not consider the body worthless, but I refuse to separate [it] from the divinity.

Orthodox. We don't divide the union either, my good man; but we look at the properties of the natures. And I think you will soon come to agree.

Eranistes. You're stating this as though you were a prophet.

Orthodox. [I speak] not as a prophet, but as one who knows the power of the truth. Now please answer me when I ask this question: When you hear the Lord say, "I and the Father are

one,"[21] and "Whoever has seen me has seen the Father,"[22] do you say that these words refer to the flesh or to the divinity?

[201] *Eranistes.* How can the flesh and the Father be one according to substance?

Orthodox. So these words refer to the divinity.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. And the same is true of, "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was God,"[23] and other similar phrases?

Eranistes. I agree.

Orthodox. When the divine Scripture says again that, "Jesus was tired from the journey and so sat down at the well,"[24] what are we to think became weary, the divinity or the body?

Eranistes. I refuse to divide things that have been united.

Orthodox. It seems, therefore, that you attribute the weariness to the divine nature?

Eranistes. This is how it appears to me.

Orthodox. But you are clearly contradicting the prophet who proclaims, "He will not be hungry or grow weary, and there is no searching out of his thought; he gives strength to the hungry and sorrow to those who do not grieve."[25] And soon after he says, "Those who wait for me will renew their strength and will grow wings like an eagle; they will run and will not grow weary, they will walk and will not grow hungry."[26] So how could the one who gave others freedom from need and from weariness experience the suffering of weariness, hunger, and thirst himself?

Eranistes. I have often said that he is impassible and lacks nothing as God, but endured sufferings after taking flesh.

Orthodox. [Did he do this] by receiving suffering in the divinity, or by permitting the passible nature to suffer in accordance with nature and to proclaim by the suffering that the visible was not an illusion, but had truly been taken from human nature? Let us look at it in this way: Do we say that the divine nature is infinite?

21. Jn 10.30.
22. Jn 14.9.
23. Jn 1.1.
24. Jn 4.6.
25. Is 40.28–29 (LXX).
26. Is 40.31 (LXX).

Eranistes. It is.

Orthodox. The infinite nature is limited by nothing.

Eranistes. Correct.

Orthodox. So it does not need to change its position, since it is everywhere.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. And that which does not need to change its position does not need to walk either.

[202] *Eranistes.* It seems so.

Orthodox. And that which does not walk does not grow weary.

Eranistes. Definitely not.

Orthodox. Then since the divine nature was infinite and did not have to walk, it did not grow weary.

Eranistes. But the divine Scripture relates that Jesus grew weary, and Jesus is God. "For there is one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all things exist."[27]

Orthodox. So since the divine Scripture says that he grew weary and does not grow weary, and since both these things are true, for the divine Scripture does not lie, we must consider how both these statements can apply to one person.

Eranistes. You show this, since you're introducing the language of division.

Orthodox. I think that even a barbarian can rather easily perceive that, since there is admittedly a union of unlike natures, the person of Christ is the subject of both sets of predicates because of the union, but those that are proper to each nature are attributed to it: inability to grow weary to the infinite nature and weariness to the nature that moves and walks. For walking is proper to feet, and extending oneself through increased exertion is a property of sinews.

Eranistes. We agree that these are bodily conditions.

Orthodox. Then that prediction that I made is true, even if you chose to laugh at it. For see how you have shown us what is proper to the humanity and what to the divinity.

Eranistes. But I did not divide the one Son into two sons.

Orthodox. We didn't do this either, my friend; we look at the

27. 1 Cor 8.6.

difference between the natures and determine what is proper to the divinity, and what is suited to the body.

Eranistes. The divine Scripture did not teach us to make this distinction, but it did say that the Son of God died. For the Apostle spoke like this: "for if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son."[28] He also said that the Lord was raised from the dead; "For God," he says, "also raised the Lord."[29]

Orthodox. So when the divine Scripture says, "Pious men buried Stephen and raised a great lamentation over him,"[30] would someone say that his soul was also put in the grave along with his body?

[203] *Eranistes.* Of course not.

Orthodox. And when you hear the patriarch Jacob say, "Bury me with my fathers,"[31] do you think that this was said about his body or his soul?

Eranistes. Obviously about his body.

Orthodox. Read the text that follows.

Eranistes. "There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife," and, "There they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife," and, "There they buried Leah."[32]

Orthodox. In the words you just read the divine Scripture did not mention a body, but rather the names that designated the soul along with the body. And yet we distinguish correctly and say that the souls are immortal, and only the bodies of the patriarchs were buried in the double cave.[33]

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. And when we hear the narrative of *Acts* relate that Herod killed James, the brother of John, with a sword,[34] we shall certainly not think that his soul also died.

Eranistes. No, for how could we, when we recall the Lord's exhortation, which said, "Do not be afraid of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul"?[35]

Orthodox. When you hear human names, you don't always

28. Rom 5.10.
29. 1 Cor 6.14.
30. Acts 8.2.
31. Gn 49.29.
32. Gn 49.31.
33. See Gn 49.29–32.
34. See Acts 12.2.
35. Mt 10.28.

think of soul together with body, and, when the Scripture talks about death and a tomb, you don't link the soul with the body in your thoughts, but you understand that these words refer only to the body, and you know, because you believe in the Lord's teaching, that the soul is immortal. So don't you think it is wicked and shameful, when you hear about the passion of the Son of God, that you don't act in this way? Instead you make no mention of the body, which is the subject of the passion, and you portray the divine nature, which is impassible, immutable, and immortal, as mortal and capable of suffering, even though you know that, if the nature of God the Word was able to suffer, the assumption of the body was superfluous.

[204] *Eranistes.* We have learned from the divine Scripture that the Son of God suffered the passion.

Orthodox. But the divine Apostle interprets the passion and reveals the nature that suffered.

Eranistes. Prove this as quickly as possible and solve the problem.

Orthodox. Don't you know that passage from the letter written to the Hebrews, where the divinely inspired Paul says, "He is not ashamed, therefore, to call them brothers, saying, 'I shall announce your name to my brothers; in the middle of the congregation I shall sing your praise'; and again, 'Behold, I and the children whom God has given me'"?[36]

Eranistes. I know these words, but they have nothing to do with what you promised to prove.

Orthodox. But they do shed light on what I promised to show. For the mention of brotherhood indicates a relationship, and the assumed nature caused the relationship; and the assumption clearly proclaims the impassibility of the divinity. Read what follows, so I can teach you this more clearly.

Eranistes. "Since the children shared flesh and blood, therefore, he himself likewise experienced the same things, so that, through death, he might destroy the one who holds the power of death, and free those who, through fear of death, were subject to slavery throughout their whole life."[37]

36. Heb 2.11–13.
37. Heb 2.14–15.

Orthodox. I think these words do not need clarification, for they clearly teach the mystery of the divine plan.

Eranistes. I have seen nothing of what you promised to show in these words.

Orthodox. But the divine Apostle clearly taught that the creator took pity on human nature, which had not only been cruelly seized by death, but for its whole life had also been enslaved to fear, and through a body provided resurrection for bodies and through a mortal nature destroyed the power of death. For since he possessed the immortal nature and wished to end the power of death justly, he took a firstfruit from those subjected to death, kept it blameless and free of sin, and permitted death to seize it and satisfy its insatiable greed; and because of the injustice done against it, [205] he also put an end to death's unjust tyranny against the others. For he raised the firstfruit that had been swallowed up unjustly and enabled the race to follow it. Compare this interpretation with the Apostle's words, and you will see the impassibility of the divinity.

Eranistes. Nothing has been revealed about the divine impassibility in the words that were read.

Orthodox. Well then, when the divine Apostle says he shared flesh and blood with his children "in order that through death he might destroy the one who holds the power of death";[38] doesn't this show clearly that the divinity is impassible and the flesh is passible, and that, since the divine nature cannot suffer, he took the nature that could suffer and through it put an end to the devil's power?

Eranistes. How did he put an end to the devil's power and the rule of death through the flesh?

Orthodox. What weapons did the devil use from the beginning to enslave human nature?

Eranistes. Through sin he took captive the one who had been settled as a citizen of paradise.

Orthodox. What penalty did God impose for the transgression of the commandment?

Eranistes. Death.

38. Heb 2.14.

Orthodox. So sin is the mother of death, and the devil is the father of sin.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. Human nature was, therefore, besieged by sin. For [sin] enslaved those who were won over, brought them to its totally evil father and handed them over to its most cruel offspring.

Eranistes. That's clear.

Orthodox. So it was reasonable for the creator, who wished to destroy both powers, to assume the nature they besieged and keep it completely free from sin, to declare it free of the devil's tyranny, and through it to destroy the power of death. For since death was punishment for sinners, and since the Lord's body, which death, in violation of divine law, [206] unjustly seized, was unstained by sin, God first raised up that which had been seized illegally and then promised deliverance to those who had been legitimately confined.

Eranistes. How can you think it is just for bodies that were justly handed over to death to share the resurrection with the one who was seized illegally?

Orthodox. And how can you think it is just for the race to follow its ancestor, when Adam disobeyed the commandment?

Eranistes. Even though the race did not participate in that transgression, it did nevertheless commit other sins, and that is why it shared in death.[39]

Orthodox. And yet, not only sinners, but also just men, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and people radiant with various forms of virtue have been caught in the nets of death.

Eranistes. Of course, for how could people born of mortal parents be immortal? For after the sin and God's sentence, when Adam had come under death's power, he knew his wife and was called a father. Since he was mortal, therefore, he became a father of mortals, and so it was reasonable for all those who received a mortal nature to follow their ancestor.

Orthodox. You have shown very well the reason why we share

39. This understanding of "original sin" is based more on the personal sins of all than on a share in Adam's sin, and is common in the Greek church; this is different from the Augustinian view of inherited original sin.

in death. So we must admit that it is exactly the same with the resurrection, since the remedy must fit the affliction. For just as the whole race was condemned with its first ancestor when he was condemned, so the nature enjoyed freedom when the savior put an end to the curse. And just as those who shared Adam's nature followed him when he went down into the underworld, so too the whole of human nature will share the return to life with Christ the Lord, who rose.

Eranistes. One must express church teachings with proof, not by making assertions. Show, therefore, that the divine Scripture teaches this.

Orthodox. Listen to the Apostle as he writes to the Romans and through them teaches this to all people:

> For if many died because of the one man's sin, much more did the grace of God and the gift in the grace of the one human being Jesus Christ flow in abundance for many; and the gift is not like the result of the one man's sin. [207] For the judgment following one sin leads to condemnation, but the gift following many sins leads to righteousness. For if, because of the one man's sin, death ruled through the one man, much more will those who have received the abundance of grace, of the gift, and of righteousness rule in life through the one Jesus Christ.[40]

And he also says:

> Therefore, as one man's sin leads to condemnation for all people, so one man's act of righteousness leads to righteousness of life for all. For just as through the one man's disobedience many became sinners, so also through one man's obedience many will become righteous.[41]

And speaking to the Corinthians about the resurrection, he reveals the mystery of the divine plan to them in a brief passage and says:

> Christ has now been raised from the dead and has become the firstfruit of those who have fallen asleep. For since death came through one human being, resurrection of the dead also came

40. Rom 5.15–17.
41. Rom 5.18–19.

> through one human being. For just as all die in Adam, so also all will be given life in Christ.[42]

See, I have also given you proofs from the divine words. See, therefore, what was said about Christ compared with what was said about Adam, [see] the cure [compared] with the disease, the remedy with the wound, the wealth of righteousness with the sin, the blessing with the curse, the forgiveness with the condemnation, the observance with the transgression, the life with the death, the kingdom with the underworld, Christ with Adam, the human being with the human being. And Christ the Lord was not only a human being, but also eternal God; the divine Apostle, however, named him from the nature that was taken, since he was comparing Adam's situation to it. For righteousness belongs to this nature, the battle belongs to this nature, the victory belongs to this nature, the sufferings belong to this nature, the death belongs to this nature, the resurrection belongs to this nature; we participate in this nature, and those who have practiced the lifestyle of the kingdom rule with this nature. I have spoken in this way, not to separate the divinity, but to state the properties of the humanity.

Eranistes. You have spoken at length on this topic and have supported your words with scriptural witnesses. So if the passion truly belongs to the flesh, how can the divine Apostle sing the praise of God's love for human beings and proclaim, "who did not spare his own Son, but gave him up for all of us"?[43] What Son did he say was handed over?

[208] *Orthodox.* Watch your language, sir. For there is one Son of God, and that is why he is called only begotten.

Eranistes. So if there is one Son of God, the divine Apostle called him "his own Son."

Orthodox. True.

Eranistes. So he said, therefore, that he was handed over.

Orthodox. Yes, but not without a body, as we have often confessed.

42. 1 Cor 15.20–22.
43. Rom 8.32.

Eranistes. We have often confessed that he took a body and a soul.

Orthodox. So the Apostle was talking about things that happened to the body.

Eranistes. The divine Apostle said very clearly, "who did not spare his own Son."[44]

Orthodox. So when you hear God say to Abraham, "Because you did not spare your beloved son for me,"[45] do you say that Isaac was sacrificed?

Eranistes. Not at all.

Orthodox. And yet God said, "You did not spare";[46] is the God of the universe truthful?

Eranistes. The words, "You did not spare,"[47] referred to Abraham's readiness; for he started to sacrifice his son because of that, but God stopped him.

Orthodox. So just as in Abraham's case you did not cling to the letter, but explained it and clarified its meaning, you should in the same way study the intent of the Apostle's words. For you will see that it was definitely not the divine nature that was not spared, but rather the flesh nailed to the cross; and it is quite easy to recognize the reality in the type. Do you think that Abraham's sacrifice is a type of the sacred rite that was offered for the world?

Eranistes. Absolutely not; for I do not make words spoken rhetorically in the churches into a standard for statements of faith.

Orthodox. It was most certainly necessary to follow the Church's teachers. But since you are not doing the right thing and are fighting against them, listen to the savior himself speaking with Jews: "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it and was happy."[48] And consider the fact that the Lord calls the passion a day.

[209] *Eranistes.* I've accepted the Lord's testimony and I believe the type.

44. Ibid.
45. Gn 22.16.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Jn 8.56.

Orthodox. Compare the type with the reality, then, and you'll see the impassibility of the divinity even in the type.[49] For there is a father in both of them, and there is likewise a beloved son in both of them; and each son carries the material for the sacrifice. For the one brought the wood, and the other brought the cross on his shoulders. And they say that the mountain-top was considered worthy for both sacrifices. And the number of days and nights and the resurrection after them are in harmony. For Isaac was sacrificed through his father's readiness from the very day that the munificent one ordered it to happen, and on the third day he returned to life, as a type, through the voice of the one who loves human beings. And a ram caught in a bush appeared and revealed the image of the cross, and it was slaughtered instead of the child. If this is a type of the reality, and the only begotten one was not sacrificed in the type, but instead a ram was provided, presented at the altar, and fulfilled the mystery of the sacred rite, then in this case why don't you attribute the passion to the flesh and proclaim the impassibility of the divinity?

Eranistes. In discussing the details of the type, you said that Isaac was brought back to life through the divine voice. We are not acting unreasonably, therefore, if we adapt the reality to the type and proclaim that God the Word suffered and was brought back to life.

Orthodox. I have often said that the image cannot have everything that the original has. And one can easily learn this here. For Isaac and the ram fit the image in accordance with the diversity of the natures; but in accordance with the distinction of the separated subsistent entities they no longer fit. For we preach such a union of divinity and humanity that we apprehend one undivided person[50] and know that the same one is both God and a human being, visible and invisible, limited and infinite; and everything else that reveals the divinity and the humanity we attribute to the one person. And therefore, since the

49. Orthodox is comparing Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in Gn 22.10–13 (the type) with Christ's death and resurrection (the reality).

50. See the Introduction, pp. 19–20, for a discussion of this text.

return to life cannot be prefigured in the ram, which is an irrational being deprived of the image of God, they[51] divide between themselves [210] the type pointing to the mystery of the divine plan; one reveals the image of death, and the other, that of the resurrection. We also find this same phenomenon in the Mosaic sacrifices. For we can also see the type of the saving passion prefigured in them.

Eranistes. And what Mosaic sacrifice foreshadows the reality?

Orthodox. The entire old covenant is, so to speak, a type of the new. That is why the divine Apostle clearly says, "For the Law, which has a shadow of the good things to come,"[52] and again, "All these things happened to them as types."[53] The sheep sacrificed in Egypt reveals the image of the original very clearly,[54] as does the red heifer that was burned outside the camp.[55] And the Apostle recalled it in the letter to the Hebrews and added, "Therefore Jesus, to sanctify the people through his own blood, suffered outside the gate."[56] But I shall mention none of these things at this time and shall only recall that sacrifice that consists in the offering of two goats, one to be sacrificed, and the other to be set free,[57] for they prefigure the image of the savior's two natures: the one that is freed [prefigures the image of] the impassible divinity, and the one that is slaughtered [prefigures the image of] the passible humanity.

Eranistes. Don't you consider it blasphemous to compare the Lord to goats?

Orthodox. What do you think is more to be avoided and loathsome, a snake or a goat?

Eranistes. A snake is obviously loathsome, for it harms those who come near it, and often even injures those who have done it no wrong. The goat, however, is one of the animals that is according to the Law clean and may be eaten.[58]

Orthodox. Listen to the Lord, then, as he compares the saving passion to the bronze serpent and says, "As Moses lifted up the

51. This refers to Isaac and the ram.
52. Heb 10.1.
53. 1 Cor 10.11.
54. See Ex 12.21.
55. See Nm 19.2–3.
56. Heb 13.12.
57. See Lv 16.
58. See Dt 14.4.

serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be lifted up, so that everyone who believes in him may not perish, but have eternal life."[59] If a bronze serpent fulfilled the type of the crucified body, why have we acted unreasonably in comparing the sacrifice of the goats to the saving passion?

[211] *Eranistes.* Because John called the Lord a lamb,[60] and Isaiah likewise called him a lamb and a sheep.[61]

Orthodox. But the blessed Paul calls him sin and a curse.[62] And therefore, as a curse he fulfills the type of the accursed snake, and as sin, he reveals the image of the sacrifice of the goats. For in accordance with the Law a kid, not a lamb, was offered for sin.[63] That is why the Lord, in the Gospels, compared the righteous to lambs and the sinners to goats.[64] Since he was going to undergo the passion, therefore, not only for the righteous, but also for sinners, it is reasonable for him to prefigure his own sacred rite through lambs and goats.

Eranistes. But the type of the two goats makes one think of two persons.

Orthodox. The passibility of the humanity and the impassibility of the divinity could not both have been prefigured at the same time by one goat, for after its death, it would not have revealed the living nature. Two were taken, therefore, in order to reveal the two natures. One would also learn this very same lesson from another sacrifice.

Eranistes. Which one?

Orthodox. The one in which the lawgiver orders that two pure birds be presented, the one to be sacrificed, and the other to be released, after having been dipped in the blood of the one that was sacrificed.[65] For here too we see the type of the divinity and the humanity, since one is sacrificed, while the other takes the suffering upon itself.

Eranistes. You have provided many types. But I do not accept enigmatic statements.

59. Jn 3.14–15.
60. See Jn 1.29–36.
61. See Is 53.7.
62. See 2 Cor 5.21 and Gal 3.13.
63. See Lv 16 and 4.23.
64. See Mt 25.32.
65. See Lv 14.50–53.

Orthodox. And yet the divine Apostle says that even the historical narratives are types; he called Hagar a type of the old covenant, compared Sarah to the heavenly Jerusalem, said that Ishmael was a type of Israel, and Isaac a type of the new people.[66] Accuse the mighty trumpet of the Spirit, therefore, because he offered enigmatic statements to all of us.

[212] *Eranistes.* Even if you offer me ten thousand statements in addition to these, you will never persuade me to divide the passion. For I also heard the angel say to Mary, "Look, see where the Lord was placed."[67]

Orthodox. We usually do this too, for we also designate the part with common names. For when we go to the tombs of the holy apostles, prophets, or martyrs, we ask who is lying in the coffin. And those who know the truth say in response that it is Thomas the apostle, or John the Baptist, or Stephen the champion of the martyrs, or they mention by name some other saint, even though sometimes very insignificant remains lie there. But no one who hears these common names that designate both the soul and the body will assume that the souls were also enclosed in the tombs; he knows that only the bodies or small parts of the bodies have been placed in the tombs. And that holy angel has done this very same thing when it referred to the body with the name of the person.

Eranistes. And how can you show that the angel spoke to the women about the Lord's body?

Orthodox. First of all, the tomb itself suffices to solve the problem. For a soul is not entrusted to a tomb, and neither, to be sure, is the infinite nature of divinity, since tombs are prepared for bodies. Next, the divine Scripture also teaches this clearly. For the divinely inspired Matthew tells the story in this way:

> When it was evening, there came a rich man from Arimathea, named Joseph, who was himself also a disciple of Jesus. He went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Pilate then ordered

66. See Gal 4.21–31.
67. Mt 28.6.

> that the body be handed over. And Joseph took the body, wrapped it in clean linen and placed it in his own new tomb, which he had carved in the rock; and after rolling a large stone in the entrance of the tomb he went away.[68]

See how often he mentioned the body, in order to shut the mouths of those who blaspheme the divinity. The thrice blessed Mark also did this, and I shall tell you his account as well; for he says:

> When it was evening, since it was the day of preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath, Joseph of Arimathea came, a noble member of the council, who was himself also awaiting the kingdom [213] of God. He boldly went in to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. But Pilate was surprised that he had already died and called the centurion to ask him if he was dead for a long time. And when he received the information from the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph, who bought linen, took him down, wrapped him in the linen, and placed him in a tomb; and so on.[69]

Marvel, therefore, when you see their agreement and the harmonious and constant introduction of the word "body." And the wholly blessed Luke gave a similar account, saying that Joseph asked for the body, and when he received it honored it with the customary rites.[70] But the most divine John also put other details into his account, for he says:

> Joseph of Arimathea, who was a disciple of Jesus, although secretly because he was afraid of the Jews, asked of Pilate that he might take the body of Jesus, and Pilate gave permission. So he came and took the body of Jesus. Nicodemus, the one who once came to Jesus at night, also came and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, weighing one hundred pounds. They took the body of Jesus, therefore, and wrapped it in linen cloths with spices, in keeping with the burial custom of the Jews. In the area where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden was a new tomb, in which no one had yet been placed. Since it

68. Mt 27.57–60.
69. Mk 15.42–46.
70. See Lk 23.50–53.

was the Jewish day of preparation, therefore, they placed Jesus there, because the tomb was nearby.[71]

See, therefore, how often he mentioned the body and showed that it was nailed to the cross, and that Joseph asked Pilate for it, that he took it down from the cross and wrapped it in linen cloths with the myrrh and aloes; then he used the name of the person and said that Jesus was placed in the tomb. That is also why the angel said, "Look, see where the Lord was placed,"[72] calling the body by the common name. For we also are used to saying in this way, "someone was buried in this place"; we do not say, "someone's body," but "someone." And everyone with common sense knows that we are speaking about the body.

And this is how the divine Scripture usually speaks, for it says, "Aaron died, and they buried him on the mountain Hor,"[73] and, "Samuel died, and they buried him in Armathem";[74] and there are many texts like this. The divine Apostle preserved this custom [214] when he referred to the Lord's death. For he says, "I have handed on to you as most important what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the Scriptures," and so on.[75]

Eranistes. In the passage you just read, the Apostle did not mention a body, but spoke of Christ, the savior of us all. You have, therefore, introduced testimony against yourself and shot yourself with your own arrows.

Orthodox. Apparently you forgot, as soon as possible, that lengthy discussion I went through, in order to show that they often call the body by the names of the persons. And now the divine Apostle has done this same thing, and it is very easy to discern that from the same text. Let us look at it in this way. Why did this divinely inspired man write this to the Corinthians?

71. Jn 19.38–42.
72. Mt 28.6.
73. Nm 20.28.
74. 1 Sm 25.1; the NRSV uses the Hebrew name Ramah.
75. 1 Cor 15.3–4.

Eranistes. Certain people had deceived them [by saying] that there will not be a resurrection of bodies. So when the teacher of the world found this out, he spoke to them about the resurrection of bodies.

Orthodox. And why did he bring the Lord's resurrection into the discussion, if he wanted to demonstrate the resurrection of bodies?

Eranistes. Because it suffices to reveal the resurrection of us all.

Orthodox. What does his death have in common with the death of others, so that he can testify to the resurrection of all through his own resurrection?

Eranistes. This is why the only begotten Son of God became human, suffered, and experienced death: to destroy death. When he rose, therefore, he proclaims the resurrection of all human beings through his own resurrection.

Orthodox. And who, on hearing about the resurrection of God, would believe that there will also be a resurrection like it for all human beings? For the lack of similarity between the natures does not allow us to believe in the idea of the resurrection. For the one is God, while the others are human beings, and there is a vast gap between God and human beings; for they are mortal and short lived, and have been compared to grass and flowers, while he is all-powerful.

Eranistes. But when God the Word became human, he had a body and through it displayed a likeness to human beings.

[215] *Orthodox.* True, and therefore suffering, death, and resurrection relate only to the body, and the divine Apostle shows this elsewhere, when he promises renewal of life to all, and when, in speaking to those who believe in the savior's resurrection but assume that the general resurrection of all is a fable, he proclaimed:

> If Christ is preached as risen from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead? If there is no resurrection of the dead, Christ has not been raised either; and if Christ has not been raised, your faith is empty, you are still in your sins.[76]

76. 1 Cor 15.12–13 and 17.

He confirms the future through the past and discredits what is believed through that which is not believed. For he says, if you think [resurrection of the dead] is impossible, [Christ's resurrection] is also surely a lie; but if the latter appears to be true and credible, the former should also appear to be credible. For resurrection of the body is also proclaimed here, and Christ's resurrection is called a firstfruit of the others; for right after a number of rational arguments he makes this positive affirmation:

> Now Christ has been raised from the dead; he has become a firstfruit of those who have fallen asleep. For since death came through a human being, resurrection from the dead also came through a human being. For just as all die in Adam, so also all will be given life in Christ.[77]

And not only did he confirm the affirmation about the resurrection, but he also revealed the mystery of the divine plan. And he called Christ a human being here, to show that the cure fits the disease.

Eranistes. Is Christ, then, only a human being?

Orthodox. Never! For we have often stated the opposite, that he is not only a human being, but also eternal God. And he suffered as a human being, not as God. The divine Apostle too taught us this clearly when he said, "For since death came through a human being, resurrection from the dead also came through a human being."[78] And in writing to the Thessalonians, he confirms the affirmation about the general resurrection through the resurrection of our savior. "For if we believe," he says, "that Jesus died and rose, in the same way, through Jesus God will bring with him those who have fallen asleep."[79]

Eranistes. The Apostle displayed the general resurrection through the [216] Lord's resurrection, and it is clear that in this case also it was the body that died and rose. For he would not have tried to show the resurrection of all through it, if it did not have a relationship with them according to substance. But I shall not accept the attribution of the passion to the human na-

77. 1 Cor 15.20–22.
78. 1 Cor 15.21.
79. 1 Thes 4.14.

ture alone; I think it is proper to say that God the Word died in the flesh.

Orthodox. We have often showed that something immortal by nature can in no way die. If he died, then he is not immortal. What great dangers lie in these blasphemous words!

Eranistes. By nature he is immortal, but when he became human, he suffered.

Orthodox. He therefore underwent a change. For how else could one who is immortal experience death? But we have confessed that the substance of the Trinity is immutable; in no way, therefore, did he who has a nature that transcends change experience death.

Eranistes. The divine Peter said, "Since Christ, therefore, suffered for us in the flesh."[80]

Orthodox. Our language also harmonizes with this; for we have learned the rule for official teachings[81] from the divine Scripture.

Eranistes. Then how can you deny that God the Word suffered in the flesh?

Orthodox. Because we have not found this language in the divine Scripture.

Eranistes. But I just produced such a passage from the mighty Peter.

Orthodox. You apparently don't understand the how the names differ.

Eranistes. What names? Don't you think that Christ the Lord is God the Word?

Orthodox. The name "Christ," in the case of our Lord and savior, signifies God the Word after he became human; the name "Emmanuel" means the "God with us,"[82] who is both God and a human being; but when the name "God the Word" is spoken in this way, it signifies the simple nature that exists before the world, beyond time, and has no body. That is why the Holy Spirit, who spoke through the holy apostles, never attributed suffering or death to this designation.

80. 1 Pt 4.1.
81. Τῶν δογμάτων.
82. See Mt 1.23.

Eranistes. If the passion is attributed to Christ, and if God the Word was called Christ after becoming human, I do not think it improper to say that God the Word suffered in the flesh.

[217] *Orthodox.* Well, it is an extremely bold and very rash undertaking, but let us examine the idea in some way like this. The divine Scripture says that God the Word is from God the Father.

Eranistes. That is true.

Orthodox. And yet it teaches that the Holy Spirit is likewise from God.

Eranistes. Agreed.

Orthodox. But it calls God the Word "only begotten Son."

Eranistes. It does.

Orthodox. And it never called the Holy Spirit "Son."

Eranistes. Never.

Orthodox. And yet [the Spirit] too has existence from God the Father.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. Since we confess, therefore, that both the Son and the Spirit are from God the Father, would you ever have dared to call the Holy Spirit "Son"?

Eranistes. Absolutely not.

Orthodox. Why?

Eranistes. Because I do not find this name in the divine Scripture.

Orthodox. But is [the Spirit] begotten?

Eranistes. No.

Orthodox. Why?

Eranistes. I have not learned this from the divine Scripture either.

Orthodox. What designation would reasonably apply to one who was neither begotten nor created?

Eranistes. We name him uncreated and unbegotten.

Orthodox. And we say that the Holy Spirit was neither created nor begotten.

Eranistes. Definitely.

Orthodox. Would you dare, therefore, to call the Holy Spirit unbegotten?

Eranistes. Certainly not.

Orthodox. Please tell me why you don't call unbegotten something that is uncreated by nature and definitely not begotten?

Eranistes. Because I have not learned this from the divine Scripture and I am quite terrified to affirm things not mentioned by it.

[218] *Orthodox.* Well then, my good man, please maintain this piety with respect to the saving passion as well, and whatever divine names Scripture dissociated from the passion you also dissociate and do not attribute the passion to them.

Eranistes. What names are these?

Orthodox. Nowhere did it link the passion to the designation "God."

Eranistes. I don't say that God the Word suffered without a body, but I do say that he suffered in the flesh.

Orthodox. Then you are talking about a manner of suffering, not impassibility, and no one would say this even about the human soul. For unless they were totally insane, who would say that the soul of Paul died in the flesh? This wouldn't even be said about someone who was very evil, for the souls of the wicked are also immortal. But we say that so-and-so the murderer was killed; no one would say that his soul was slaughtered in the flesh. So if we say that the souls of murderers and grave-robbers are freed from death, it would presumably be much more just to acknowledge that our savior's soul is immortal, since it never experienced sin. For if those who committed the greatest sins escaped the encounter with death because of their nature, how could that soul, which had an immortal nature and was not touched by the stain of even a small sin, have swallowed death's hook?

Eranistes. There was no reason for you to make this long speech, for we confess that the savior's soul is immortal.

Orthodox. And what horrible form of punishment wouldn't you deserve, if you say that the soul that has a created nature is immortal, but fabricate for the Word a divine substance that is mortal, and if you do not say that the savior's soul tasted death in the flesh, but dare to say that God the Word himself, the creator of all, suffered the passion?

Eranistes. We say that he suffered in an impassible way.

Orthodox. What sensible person would put up with these absurd riddles? For no one has ever heard of impassible suffering or immortal death. That which is impassible did not suffer, and that which suffered would not remain impassible. But we hear the divine Paul proclaim, "The one who alone has immortality, who inhabits unapproachable light."[83]

[219] *Eranistes.* Well then, do we say that the invisible powers, the souls of human beings, and the demons themselves are immortal?

Orthodox. We do. But God is immortal in the proper sense, because God is immortal by substance, not by participation; for he does not possess an immortality that he received from someone else. In fact he himself bestowed immortality on the angels and the others you just mentioned. If the divinely inspired Paul, therefore, calls him immortal and says that he alone possesses immortality, how can you attribute the suffering of death to him?

Eranistes. We say that he tasted death after becoming flesh.

Orthodox. But we have often confessed that he is immutable. If he was immortal first and underwent death later on through the flesh, how could someone accept this and still believe David, who says to him, "You are the same, and your years will not fail,"[84] since according to your explanation he did not remain the same? For the same one who is immortal underwent death through the flesh, after a change took place he underwent death, and life left him for three days and three nights. Doesn't this language approach the heights of impiety? For I think that even people who are fighting against impiety are not out of danger when they speak like this.

Eranistes. Stop accusing us of impiety. For we don't say that the divine nature suffered; we say that the human nature suffered and that the divine nature suffered with the body.

Orthodox. How do you explain the words "suffered with"? Do you mean that, when the nails were fixed in the body, the divine nature experienced the sensation of pain?

83. 1 Tm 6.16a.
84. Ps 102.27 (LXX 101.28).

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. Both now and in the earlier investigations we showed that the soul doesn't share in everything that concerns the body, but that the body, which receives the power of life through the soul, experiences the sensation of suffering. But even if we should admit that the soul feels pain with the body, we shall find that the divine nature is no less impassible. For it was not joined to the body in place of a soul. Or don't you also confess that he assumed a soul?

[220] *Eranistes.* I have also often confessed this.

Orthodox. And [that he assumed] the rational soul?

Eranistes. Yes.

Orthodox. So if he assumed the soul with the body, and if we admitted that the soul suffered with the body, then the soul, not the divinity, suffered with the body, and it probably shared in the suffering by experiencing pain through the body. And yet one might perhaps say that the soul suffered with the body, but did not die with it, because it had an immortal nature. And this is why the Lord said, "Do not be afraid of those of who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul."[85] If we say, therefore, that not even the savior's soul shared death with the body, how could anyone accept your bold blasphemy, which dares to say that the divine nature experienced death, especially when the Lord shows that his body is offered[86] at one time and that his soul is troubled at another?[87]

Eranistes. And where did the Lord show that his body was offered? Are you again going to offer us that famous testimony, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it up"?[88] And will you proudly give us the evangelist saying: "He was speaking about the temple of his body, and when he was raised from the dead, his disciples knew that Jesus meant this, and they believed in the Scripture and in the word that Jesus spoke"?[89]

Orthodox. If you have such intense hatred for the divine words, which proclaim the great mystery of the divine plan, why

85. Mt 10.28.
86. See Jn 6.51 and Heb 10.10.
87. See Jn 12.27.
88. Jn 2.19.
89. Jn 2.21–22.

don't you act like Marcion, Valentinus, and Manes, and delete words like these? For that is exactly what they did. If this seems rash and wicked, however, don't mock the Lord's words, but follow the apostles, who believed after the resurrection that the divinity raised up the temple that the Jews destroyed.

Eranistes. If you have a solid witness, stop acting abusively and keep your promise.

Orthodox. You surely remember those words of the Gospel, in which the Lord compared the manna and the true food.[90]

Eranistes. I do.

[221] *Orthodox.* He spoke at length in that passage about the bread of life and also added this: "The bread that I shall give is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world."[91] And one can see in these words the generosity of the divinity and the gift of the flesh.

Eranistes. One witness is not enough to solve the dispute.

Orthodox. The Ethiopian eunuch had not read much Scripture, but he found one piece of testimony in the prophets, through which he was led to salvation.[92] But all the apostles and prophets, and those who proclaimed the truth after them are not enough to persuade you. Nevertheless, I shall offer you other testimonies about the Lord's body. You know that section of the Gospel narrative, where, after eating the paschal meal with the disciples, he pointed to the death of the symbolic[93] lamb and taught them which body was behind that shadow.[94]

Eranistes. I know this account.

Orthodox. Remind us, then, what the Lord took and broke, and what he said to designate that which had been taken.

Eranistes. I'll use esoteric language because of the uninitiated. He took, broke, gave to the disciples, and said, "This is my body, which is given for you,"[95] or, according to the Apostle, "which is broken."[96] And then, "This is my blood of the new covenant, which is being poured out for many."[97]

90. See Jn 6.48–50.
91. Jn 6.51.
92. See Acts 8.26–39.
93. Τυπικός.
94. See Mt 26.26; Mk 14.22; Lk 22.19.
95. Lk 22.19.
96. 1 Cor 11.24.
97. Mt 26.28; Mk 14.24.

Orthodox. He did not, therefore, mention divinity, when he displayed the type of the passion.

Eranistes. Not at all.

Orthodox. But he did mention body and blood.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. Was a body nailed to the cross?

Eranistes. Apparently.

Orthodox. Then let us look at this. For after the resurrection, when, even though the doors were closed, the Lord came in to the holy disciples and saw that they were afraid, how did he stop the fear and instill faith instead of fear?[98]

[222] *Eranistes.* He said to them, "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; touch me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you see that I have."[99]

Orthodox. Did he, then, show his body to them when they did not believe?

Eranistes. Obviously.

Orthodox. Was the body, therefore, raised?

Eranistes. Apparently.

Orthodox. And presumably that which was raised was also that which died?

Eranistes. It seems so.

Orthodox. And that which died is that which was fixed to the cross?

Eranistes. Of course.

Orthodox. Then according to your explanation the body suffered.

Eranistes. The logical train of the argument forces us to say this.

Orthodox. But let's also look at it in this way. I'll again ask questions, and you answer truthfully.

Eranistes. I shall.

Orthodox. When the all-Holy Spirit descended on the apostles, and when the miraculous sight and sound drew many thousands of people to that house, what did the leader of the

98. See Lk 24.36–38.
99. Lk 24.39.

apostles say about the Lord's resurrection when he spoke to the people at that time?

Eranistes. He introduced divinely inspired David and said that he had received promises from the God of the universe that Christ the Lord would spring from the fruit of his loins; and he said that, since David believed these promises, he foresaw his resurrection prophetically and said clearly that his soul would not be abandoned to the underworld and that his flesh would not see corruption.[100]

Orthodox. So resurrection pertained to these.[101]

Eranistes. How could any sensible person say that resurrection pertained to the soul, which did not die?

Orthodox. How could you people, who said that the immutable and infinite divinity was the subject of the passion, death, and resurrection, now suddenly appear sensible to us by refusing to attribute the word "resurrection" even to the soul?

[223] *Eranistes.* Because the word "resurrection" properly applies to that which has fallen.

Orthodox. But the body does not obtain the resurrection without a soul; renewed by the divine will and rejoined to its companion, it receives life again. Isn't this the way in which the Lord raised Lazarus?[102]

Eranistes. It's clear that the body doesn't rise alone.

Orthodox. The divine Ezekiel teaches this more clearly. For he shows that God ordered the bones to come together, that each of them recovered its proper harmony, and that God produced nerves, veins, arteries, the flesh that was woven around them, and the skin that conceals all of them, and then ordered the souls to return to their own bodies.[103]

Eranistes. This is true.

Orthodox. The Lord's body, however, did not undergo this corruption, but remained intact and recovered its own soul on the third day.

100. See Acts 2.22–34 and Ps 16.10 (LXX 15.10).
101. I.e., the soul and the flesh.
102. See Jn 11.1–44.
103. See Ezek 37.7–10.

Eranistes. Agreed.

Orthodox. So are those who suffer the ones who die?

Eranistes. Absolutely.

Orthodox. And are those who die, therefore, the ones who rise?

Eranistes. Of course.

Orthodox. When the mighty Peter, as well as the divine David, spoke about the resurrection, didn't they say that the soul was not abandoned to the underworld and the body did not undergo corruption?[104]

Eranistes. They did.

Orthodox. So it was not the divinity that underwent death, but the body, by being separated from the soul.

Eranistes. I won't accept these strange words.

Orthodox. Then you're fighting against your own words; for these words, which you've called strange, are your own.

Eranistes. You're simply slandering me, for none of these words are mine.

[224] *Orthodox.* When someone asks what kind of living being is both rational and mortal, if a person were to say in response, "a human being," whom would you call an interpreter of the word: the one who questions or the one who answers?

Eranistes. The one who answers.

Orthodox. Then I was right to say that these are your words; for as you responded you presumably supported your words by rejecting some things and admitting others.

Eranistes. Then I won't answer at all; I'll only ask questions. And you answer me.

Orthodox. I'll do that.

Eranistes. What do you say about that text of the Apostle, "For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory?"[105] For here he doesn't mention either body or soul.

Orthodox. Well then, since this is a device you invented to oppose the divinity of the Word, the phrase "in the flesh" is not to be added here either, but the suffering is to be attributed to the divinity of the Word alone.

104. See Acts 2.22–34 and Ps 16.10 (LXX 15.10).
105. 1 Cor 2.8.

Eranistes. Absolutely not; for it suffered in the flesh. The nature that has no body cannot suffer in and by itself.

Orthodox. But it's improper to add anything to the Apostle's words.

Eranistes. When someone understands the Apostle's intention, it's not wrong to add what's missing.

Orthodox. Nevertheless, making additions to the divine words is insane and reckless; but it's holy and pious to explain the texts and reveal their hidden meaning.

Eranistes. You're right.

Orthodox. So we're not doing anything unreasonable or wicked, if we search for the meaning of the texts.

Eranistes. Not at all.

Orthodox. Let's search together, then, for what seems to be hidden.

Eranistes. Very well.

Orthodox. The mighty Paul called the divine James "brother of the Lord."[106]

Eranistes. True.

[225] *Orthodox.* So how shall we consider him a brother? By a relationship with the divinity or the humanity?

Eranistes. I refuse to divide the natures that were united.

Orthodox. But you often made divisions in the previous discussions. And you'll do the very same thing again now. So tell me, do you say that God the Word is only begotten Son?

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. Does "only begotten" indicate the only son?

Eranistes. Certainly.

Orthodox. So the only begotten does not have a brother?

Eranistes. Absolutely not; for if he had a brother, he would not be called only begotten.

Orthodox. So they lied in calling James the Lord's brother.[107] For the Lord is only begotten, and the only begotten simply does not have a brother.

Eranistes. But the Lord is not without a body, so that the heralds of truth are only saying things that pertain to the divinity.

106. See Gal 1.19.
107. Ibid.

Orthodox. Then how would you show that the Apostle's statement was true?

Eranistes. By saying that [James] shared in a relationship with the Lord according to the flesh.

Orthodox. Look at this! Once again you've dragged in the division that you condemn.

Eranistes. There was no other way to explain the relationship.

Orthodox. Then don't accuse those who can't solve problems like these in another way.

Eranistes. You're leading the discussion in another direction because you want to avoid the issue.

Orthodox. Not at all, my good man. For that will also be solved through our investigations. Look at it this way. When you heard that James was the Lord's brother, did you say that the relationship was proper, not to the divinity, but to the flesh?

Eranistes. I did.

Orthodox. So when you hear about the suffering of the cross in this passage, apply it to the flesh.

Eranistes. The apostle Paul called the crucified one "Lord of glory."[108]

[226] *Orthodox.* And the same apostle called the Lord a brother of James.[109] The same Lord is in both passages. So if you correctly attributed the relationship to the flesh there, the passion should presumably also be attributed to it here. For it is absolutely outrageous to understand the relationship according to division, and then to attribute the passion without division.

Eranistes. I obey the Apostle, who calls the crucified one "Lord of glory."[110]

Orthodox. I also obey and I believe that he is Lord of glory; for the body that was fixed to the cross was not the body of an ordinary human being, but of the Lord of glory. And yet we must be aware that the union makes the names common. Look at it this way. Do you say that the Lord's flesh came down from heaven?

Eranistes. Certainly not.

108. See 1 Cor 2.8.
109. See Gal 1.19.
110. See 1 Cor 2.8.

Orthodox. But you say that it was formed in the womb of the virgin?

Eranistes. I do.

Orthodox. Then how can the Lord say, "If, therefore, you see the Son of Man going up to where he was before,"[111] and also, "No one has gone up to heaven, except the one who came down from heaven, the Son of Man, who is in heaven"?[112]

Eranistes. He is not talking about the flesh, but about the divinity.

Orthodox. But the divinity is from God the Father. So how can he call him a Son of Man?

Eranistes. The properties of the natures were common to the person.[113] For because of the union the same one is both Son of Man and Son of God, both eternal and recent, both son of David and Lord of David, and everything else like this.

Orthodox. Absolutely correct. But we must also be aware of this, that the common sharing of the names did not produce a mixture of the natures. This is why we seek to determine how he is Son of God, and how the same one is also Son of Man, and how the same one is yesterday, today, and forever; and by means of a pious verbal distinction we find that the opposites are in harmony.

Eranistes. What you say is correct.

Orthodox. Well then, just as you said that the divine nature came down from heaven [227] and that because of the union it was called Son of Man, in the same way it is also important to say that the flesh was fixed to the cross and to confess that the divine nature was not separated from it, both on the cross and in the tomb, for [the divine nature] did not suffer because of [the flesh], since it does not by nature suffer or die, but possesses the immortal and impassible substance. So he called the crucified one "Lord of glory,"[114] and attributed the name of the impassible nature to the passible one, because the body belonged to it.

And now let's also consider this. The divine Apostle said,

111. Jn 6.62.
112. Jn 3.13.
113. Πρόσωπον.
114. 1 Cor 2.8.

"For if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."[115] Thus they crucified a nature that they knew, not a nature that they didn't know. If they had known the nature that they didn't know, they wouldn't have crucified the nature they knew. But since they did not know the divine nature, they crucified the human nature. Or didn't you hear them say, "We are not stoning you because of a good work, but because of blasphemy, since you, who are a man, make yourself God."[116] Through these words they show that they recognized the nature that they saw, but had absolutely no knowledge of the invisible nature. If they had known that nature, however, "they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."[117]

Eranistes. To some extent this makes sense. But the faith taught by the fathers who had gathered at Nicaea says that the "only begotten" himself, the "true God," the one who was "of the same substance as the Father," suffered and was crucified.[118]

Orthodox. You have apparently forgotten what you often confessed.

Eranistes. What do you mean?

Orthodox. That after the union divine Scripture attributes both the sublime and the humble qualities to the one person. Perhaps you were also unaware that the wholly blessed fathers first said that he "took flesh and became human," and then added that he "suffered" and was crucified,[119] and thus they spoke about the suffering after they introduced the nature that was able to suffer.

Eranistes. The fathers said that "the Son of God," the "light from light," the one who was "from the substance of the Father," "suffered" and was crucified.[120]

Orthodox. I have often stated that the one person[121] is the subject of both the divine and the human attributes. For this rea-

115. Ibid. 116. Jn 10.33.

117. 1 Cor 2.8.

118. For the references to the creed of Nicaea throughout this section see Tanner, 1, 5.

119. This is from the creed of Nicaea, which does not speak of Christ being crucified, but says that he "suffered and rose."

120. Cf. the previous note.

121. Πρόσωπον.

son, after the thrice-blessed fathers [228] taught that one must believe in the Father, they then turned to the person of the Son, but they did not immediately say "and in the Son of God," although it would have been very logical for them to place the name of the Son directly after they spoke about God the Father. But they wanted to hand on to us material that at one and the same time dealt with God and with the divine plan, lest it be thought that there was one person of the divinity and another of the humanity. To their words about the Father, therefore, they added that we must also believe in our "Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God." Now God the Word was called Christ after becoming human. This name is, therefore, the subject of all attributes, both those that pertain to the divinity and those that pertain to the humanity; but we realize nevertheless that some refer to the latter nature, and others to the former. And it's easy to learn this from the formula[122] of the faith itself. For tell me, to what do you apply the phrase "from the substance of the Father": the divinity or the nature formed from the seed of David?

Eranistes. The divinity, of course.

Orthodox. And the phrase, "true God from true God"—to what do you say it is proper, the divinity or the humanity?

Eranistes. The divinity.

Orthodox. So the divinity that formed all things is "of the same substance as the Father," not the flesh or the soul; for they are created.

Eranistes. True.

Orthodox. In the same way, then, when we hear about suffering and the cross, we must recognize the nature that experienced the suffering, and we must not attribute it to the impassible nature, but to that nature that was assumed for this purpose. For the conclusion of the [declaration of] faith[123] testifies that the glorious fathers confessed that the divine nature was impassible and that they attributed the suffering to the flesh; it says this: "The holy, catholic, and apostolic Church anathematizes those who say, 'There was a time when he did

122. Σύμβολον.

123. The Greek is simply πίστις.

not exist,' and, 'Before he was begotten he did not exist,' and, 'He came into being from non-being or from some other subsistent entity or substance,' for they are saying that the Son of God is mutable or changeable."[124] See, therefore, the severe punishment with which they threatened those who attribute the suffering to the divine nature.

Eranistes. The discussion there is about mutation and change.

Orthodox. And what is suffering but mutation and change? For if the one who was impassible before becoming flesh suffered after becoming flesh, [229] then he presumably suffered by undergoing a change; and if the one who was immortal before becoming human tasted death, as you explain it, after becoming human, then he was changed completely by going from immortal to mortal. But the wholly blessed fathers drive such ideas and those who produce them out of the church, and they cut them off as rotten limbs from a healthy body. We urge you, therefore, to fear punishment and hate the blasphemy. And I'll also show you that the holy fathers in their writings shared the ideas that we have gone through; some of them participated in that extraordinary assembly, others were prominent in the churches after them, and others enlightened the world long before. But neither different times nor diversity of language destroyed their harmony; they are like a lyre that has many different strings, but emits one harmonious tone.

Eranistes. You will provide me with instruction for which I have a tremendous longing and desire, because teaching like this cannot be questioned and is very useful.

Orthodox. Open your ears, then, and welcome the streams that flow from spiritual springs.

The Holy Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch and Martyr

1. From the letter to the Smyrnaeans.[125]

They stay away from the Eucharist and prayer, because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our savior, Jesus

124. Tanner, 1, 5.
125. Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans* 7.1. *CPG* 1.1025.

Christ, which suffered for our sins and which the Father raised through kindness.

Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons

2. *From the third discourse of the work against heresies.*[126]

It is clear, therefore, that Paul knows no other Christ than the one who was born of a virgin, suffered, was buried, and rose, whom he also calls a human being. For after he said, "If Christ is preached as raised from the dead,"[127] he goes on to give the reason for his Incarnation: [230] "For since death came through a human being, resurrection from the dead also came through a human being."[128] And he generally used the name "Christ" with regard to our Lord's passion, his humanity, and death; he said, for example, "Do not destroy with your food the one for whom Christ died,"[129] and also, "But now in Christ you who were once far away have been brought near through the blood of Christ."[130] He also said, "Christ bought us from the curse of the Law, having become a curse for us; for it was written, 'Cursed is everyone who is hung on a tree.'"[131]

3. *By the same author from the same discourse.*[132]

For just as he was a human being in order to be tempted, so also was he Word in order to be glorified; the Word was silent in the temptation, crucifixion, and death, but he was with the human being in the victory, patience, mercy, resurrection, and ascension.

4. *By the same author from the fifth discourse of the same work.*[133]

Since the Lord redeemed us by his own blood, therefore, and gave his soul for our souls and his flesh in place of our flesh. . . .

126. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies* 3.18.3. *CPG* 1.1306.
127. 1 Cor 15.12.
128. 1 Cor 15.21.
129. Rom 14.15.
130. Eph 2.13.
131. Gal 3.13.
132. Irenaeus of Lyons, *Against Heresies* 3.19.3.
133. Irenaeus of Lyons, op. cit. 5.1.1.

The Holy Hippolytus, Bishop and Martyr

5. From the letter to a certain empress.[134]

He calls him firstfruit of those who have fallen asleep,[135] therefore, because he is first-born from the dead.[136] After he had risen, since he wanted to show that what had risen was that which had also died, when the disciples were in doubt, he spoke to Thomas and said, "Come, touch and see, for a spirit does not have bone and flesh, as you see that I have."[137]

6. By the same author from the same letter.[138]

By calling him firstfruit,[139] he testified to what we have said, namely, that the savior took flesh from the same material and raised it, making it the firstfruit of the flesh of the righteous, so that all of us who believe in him shall, through hope in the one who was raised, possess the resurrection that is expected to come.

[231] *7. By the same author from the discourse on the two thieves.*[140]

The Lord's body provided the world with both things, the sacred blood and the holy water.[141]

8. By the same author from the same discourse.[142]

And even though the body, in accordance with the human mode of existence, is dead, it still has in itself great power over life. For blood and water,[143] which do not flow from dead bodies, flowed from it, so that we might understand how much the power that dwelt in the body can do for life; so it is clearly not like other dead bodies, but can pour out on us the sources of life.

134. Hippolytus, *On the Resurrection to the Empress Mammaea. CPG* 1.1900.1.
135. See 1 Cor 15.20.
136. See Col 1.18.
137. Lk 24.39; see also Jn 20.27.
138. Hippolytus, op. cit.
139. See 1 Cor 15.20.
140. Hippolytus, *On John 19.34 (on the two thieves). CPG* 1.1889.
141. See Jn 19.34.
142. Hippolytus, op. cit.
143. Jn 19.34.

9. By the same author from the same discourse.[144]

The bone of the sacred lamb is not crushed,[145] and the type, therefore, shows that the suffering does not affect the power; for bones are a body's power.

The Holy Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch and Confessor

10. From the discourse about the soul.[146]

One can refute their wicked slander in a few words, and this would be very important if he did not give up his body willingly to the slaughter of death for the salvation of human beings.[147] In the first place, they ascribe great weakness to him, because he could not stop the attack of the enemy.

11. By the same author from the same discourse.[148]

Why do they consider it so important to show, by spinning out earthly lies, that Christ assumed a body without a soul? So that they might be able to corrupt some people into declaring that this is true, and then, by attributing to the divine Spirit the changes due to the sufferings, to convince them easily that the mutable is not begotten from the immutable nature.

12. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways."[149]

For the human being who died rises up on the third day; but when Mary strives with longing to touch his holy limbs, [232] he objected and says to her, "Do not touch me, for I have not yet as-

144. Hippolytus, op. cit.

145. See Ps 34.20 (LXX 33.21).

146. Eustathius of Antioch, *About the soul (against the Arians). CPG* 2.3353.

147. The Greek text here is very difficult and may be corrupt. This translation is based on the existing text. The author thanks Nigel G. Wilson for suggesting a possible emendation that would change the negative μὴ to δὴ.

148. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.

149. Eustathius of Antioch, *Discourse on the text, "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways" (Prv 8.22). CPG* 2.3354.

cended to my Father; go to my brothers and tell them, 'I am ascending to my Father and your Father, my God and your God.'"[150] God the Word, who comes from heaven and lives in the bosom of the Father did not utter the phrase "I have not yet ascended to my Father"; the Wisdom that embraces all things that exist did not say it either; this was spoken by the very human being who was formed out of all kinds of limbs, who had been raised from the dead, and who after death had not yet ascended to his Father, but reserved for himself the firstfruit of his passage.

13. By the same author from the same discourse.[151]

In his letter he clearly calls the very human being who was crucified "Lord of glory,"[152] since he designated him Lord and Christ, just as the apostles do, when they speak with one voice to the visible Israel and say, "Let the whole house of Israel know with certainty, that God has made him Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom you crucified."[153] He made Lord, therefore, the Jesus who suffered, and not the Wisdom or the Word who possessed the power of Lordship from the beginning, but the one who was raised up on the cross and stretched out his hands.

14. By the same author from the same discourse.[154]

For if he does not have a body, he is not exposed to the touch of hands, he is not contained by eyes with the sense of sight, he suffers no wound, he is not pierced by nails, he does not share in death, he is not concealed by the earth, he is not shut up in a tomb, he does not rise from the grave.

15. By the same author from the same discourse.[155]

"No one takes my soul from me; I have power to put down my soul, and I have power to take it again."[156] If he had both these powers as God, he did permit those who thoughtlessly attacked

150. Jn 20.17.
151. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
152. See 1 Cor 2.8.
153. Acts 2.36.
154. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
155. Ibid.
156. Jn 10.18.

the temple to destroy it, but he restored it more gloriously by rising.[157] Irrefutable evidence has shown that he raised up and restored his own dwelling-place by himself. But the mighty works of the Son must also be attributed to the most divine Father. For the Son, according to the unassailable statements of holy Scripture, does nothing without the Father.[158] [233] That is why it is sometimes written that the most divine Father raised Christ from the dead, while at other times the Son promises to raise his own temple. If previous studies have shown, therefore, that the divine Spirit of Christ is impassible, those who are under a curse attack the limits set by the apostles to no avail. For if Paul was clearly looking at the human being when he declared that the Lord of glory was crucified,[159] it will be wrong to contradict him and attribute suffering to the divine. Why, then, do they put this complicated story together and say that Christ was crucified because of weakness?

16. By the same author from the same discourse.[160]

If it were also proper to attribute a form of weakness to him, one might say that it is logical to refer this to the human being, not to the fullness of the divinity, or to the glory of the Wisdom on high, or to the one who is, in Paul's words, "the God who is over everything."[161]

17. By the same author from the same discourse.[162]

This is the kind of weakness, because of which, according to what Paul writes, he came to death. For the human being, who clearly dwells together with the divine Spirit, lives through God's power,[163] since the power of the most high,[164] who is active in him, has been revealed in accordance with the previous statements.

157. See Jn 2.19.
158. See Jn 5.19.
159. See 1 Cor 2.8.
160. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
161. See Rom 9.5.
162. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
163. See 2 Cor 13.4.
164. See Lk 1.35.

18. By the same author from the same discourse.[165]

If he did not diminish his power when he occupied the virgin's womb, then the Spirit is not stained when the body was fixed to the wood of the cross. For the body was raised on high and crucified, but the divine Spirit of Wisdom lived on even in the body, and it occupied the heavens, embraced the whole earth, conquered the depths, looked into and judged the soul of each human being, and continued to do everything in the usual way as God. For the Wisdom that is on high is not confined because it is enclosed in bodily matter, as material things that are wet and dry are enclosed in vessels, and are confined, but do not confine the things that hold them. In fact, since [Wisdom] is a kind of divine and inexpressible power, it embraces and rules whatever is inside and outside of the temple, and then, moving beyond this, it envelops and rules all bodily matter at once.

[234] *19. By the same author from the same discourse.*[166]

The sun is a visible body and is apprehended by the senses; if it suffers many grave outrages everywhere in the world, but does not change its pattern, or feel any blow, great or small, do we imagine that the Wisdom that has no body is stained and changes its nature, if its temple is nailed to a cross, destroyed, wounded, or suffers corruption? On the contrary, the temple suffers, while the pure substance maintains its worthiness wholly undefiled.

20. By the same author from the discourse on the inscriptions of the gradual psalms.[167]

The Father, who is perfect, infinite, incomprehensible, and self-sufficient with respect to beauty and every kind of virtue, does not receive acquired glory. And neither does his Word, who is God and begotten from him, through whom angels, heavens, the vast expanses of earth, and, in a word, all the materials and structures of created reality came into being. But the human be-

165. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
166. Ibid.
167. Eustathius of Antioch, *Discourse on the inscriptions of the gradual psalms. CPG* 2.3355.

ing of the Christ is raised from the dead, lifted on high and glorified, to the public shame of his enemies.

21. By the same author from the same discourse.[168]

Those who raised up hatred against him out of envy and who were fortified by a hostile force are dispersed, when God the Word raised his own temple with due honor.

22. By the same author from the interpretation of Psalm 92.[169]

At last, therefore, the prophet Isaiah relates in detail the very footsteps of his sufferings and with a resounding cry also adds this: "And we have seen him, and he does not have form or beauty; but his form was dishonored and rejected by the sons of human beings."[170] Then he shows clearly that the forms of beauty and the sufferings were applied to the human being, not to the divine, for he goes on and immediately adds, "Being a wounded human being, who knows how to bear weakness."[171]

23. By the same author from the same interpretation.[172]

This, therefore, is the same one who, after suffering insults, appeared without form or shape, and then, through a change, was again clothed with beauty. For the God who dwelt [235] in him was not led to judgment like a lamb and slaughtered like a sheep,[173] because he was invisible by nature.

The Holy Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria and Confessor

24. From the letter to Epictetus.[174]

Who was so wicked as to say and also to think that the very divinity, which was of the same substance as the Father, was circum-

168. Ibid.
169. Eustathius of Antioch, *Commentary on Psalm 92. CPG* 2.3356.
170. Is 53.2–3a.
171. Is 53.3b.
172. Eustathius of Antioch, op. cit.
173. See Is 53.7.
174. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Letter to Epictetus* 2. *CPG* 2.2095.

cised and went from perfect to imperfect, and that it was not the body that was nailed to the cross, but the very creative substance of Wisdom?

25. By the same author from the same letter.[175]

For the Word admittedly took on himself the sufferings of his human reality, so that we could share in the Word's divinity. And it was astounding that it was he who suffered and did not suffer. He suffered, because his own body suffered, and he was in it as it suffered; but he did not suffer, because he is God by nature and impassible. And he who had no body was in the body that could suffer, while the body had in itself the impassible Word, who did away with the weaknesses of his body.

26. By the same author from the same letter.[176]

For [the Word], who is both God and Lord of glory,[177] was in the body that was shamefully pierced with nails; the body suffered when it was pierced on the cross, and blood and water flowed from its side,[178] but because it was the Word's temple, it had been filled with the divinity. When the sun, therefore, saw its maker suffering in the body that was being abused, it drew in its rays and darkened the earth; but although the body itself had a mortal nature, it transcended its nature and rose because of the Word within it; it put an end to the corruption due to nature, was clothed in the Word that transcends the human being, and became immortal.

27. By the same author from the greater discourse about faith.[179]

Was that which was raised from the dead a human being or God? The apostle Peter, [236] who knows more than we do, gives an explanation and says, "After they took him down from

175. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 6.
176. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 10.
177. See Jn 1.1 and 1 Cor 2.8.
178. See Jn 19.18–34.
179. Athanasius of Alexandria, *The greater discourse about faith. CPG* 2.2803. This treatise is attributed to Marcellus of Ancyra in *CPG*.

the cross, they placed him in a tomb, and God raised him from the dead."[180] The dead body of Jesus, therefore, was that which was taken down from the cross, placed in a tomb, and buried by Joseph of Arimathea;[181] and it was raised by the Word, who said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it."[182] The one who gives new life to all the dead also gave it to the human being born of Mary, Jesus Christ, whom he assumed. For God the Word, who lives forever, as Paul says, "For the Word of God is living and active,"[183] raised the decayed corpses of holy people while he was on the cross; if he can do this, he can most certainly raise the body that he wore.

28. By the same author from the same discourse.[184]

Life does not die, therefore, but gives new life to the dead. For just as light is not harmed in a dark place, life cannot suffer any harm because it visited the mortal nature. For the divinity of the Word is immutable and unchangeable, as the Lord says about himself in a prophecy, "Look at me, because I am and I have not been changed."[185]

29. By the same author from the same discourse.[186]

Being alive, he cannot die, but gives new life to the dead. Through the divinity from the Father, therefore, he is also a source of life; but the one who died, or rather was also raised from the dead, who intercedes for us, the one from the virgin Mary, whom the divinity of the Word assumed for our sake, is a human being.

30. By the same author from the same discourse.[187]

It happened that Lazarus fell ill and died;[188] but the Lord's human being did not fall ill or die against his will. He went to the

180. Acts 13.29–30.
181. See Mt 27.57–60.
182. Jn 2.19.
183. Heb 4.12.
184. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit.
185. See Mal 3.6, and Lk 24.39.
186. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit.
187. Ibid.
188. See Jn 11.1–14.

divine plan of death on his own, strengthened by God the Word that dwelt in him, for he said, "No one takes my soul away from me; I lay it down on my own; I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it up again."[189] It is, therefore, the divinity of the Son that lays down and takes up the soul of the human being that it wore. [237] For it assumed the complete human being, in order to renew its life completely and with it to give new life to the dead.

31. By the same author from the book against the Arians.[190]

So when blessed Paul says, "The Father raised his Son from the dead,"[191] John tells us that Jesus said, "Destroy this temple, and I shall raise it in three days. But he was talking," he says, "about his own body."[192] It is clear to those who pay attention, therefore, that, because the body was raised, Paul says that the Son was raised from the dead, for what pertains to his body is predicated of his person. In the same way, then, when he says, "The Father gave life to the Son,"[193] one should understand that life was given to the flesh. For if he himself is life, how can life receive life?

32. By the same author from the discourse about the Incarnation.[194]

For the Word understood that the corruption of human beings would only be terminated by total death, but it was impossible for the Word to die because he was immortal and Son of the Father; for this reason he takes for himself a body that can die, in order that that this body, joined to the Word that is over all, might satisfy death in place of all and remain incorrupt because of the Word who dwelt in it, and that, furthermore, corruption might cease for all because of the grace of the resurrection. And

189. Jn 10.18.

190. Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Incarnation and against the Arians* 2. *CPG* 2.2806. This treatise is attributed to Marcellus of Ancyra in *CPG*.

191. Gal 1.1 and see Acts 13.30. 192. Jn 2.19 and 21.

193. Jn 5.26.

194. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Discourse on the Incarnation of the Word* 9. *CPG* 2.2091.

so the body that he took for himself he led to death, as a victim and a sacrifice free of all stain, and through the appropriate sacrifice he immediately did away with death for all who were the same as he. For since the Word of God is above all, he legitimately offered his own temple and bodily instrument as a substitute for all and thus paid in full what was owed to death. And so the incorruptible Son of God, joined to all by a body like theirs, legitimately clothed everyone with incorruptibility in the promise of the resurrection. For the very corruption that is in death no longer has any sway over human beings because of the Word that dwells in them through the one body.

33. By the same author from the same discourse.[195]

After the most divine proofs shown in his actions, therefore, he also brought an offering for all and handed over his temple to death in place of all, in order [238] to free everyone from accountability and the ancient transgression, and to show himself superior to death, by displaying his own incorruptible body as a firstfruit of the resurrection of all.[196] For since the body itself also possessed the common substance because it was a human body, even though it had been put together by a rather new type of miracle from the virgin alone, it was nevertheless mortal and died in the same way as similar bodies. But because the Word came into it, it no longer perished, as its nature demanded, but was put beyond corruption because God's Word dwelt in [it].

34. By the same author from the same discourse.[197]

Since, as I said before, the Word could not die because he was immortal, he, therefore, took for himself a body that could die, in order to offer it as his own in place of all, and, by suffering as himself for all through his entrance into the body itself, to "destroy the one who has the power of death."[198]

195. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 20.
196. See 1 Cor 15.20.
197. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit.
198. Heb 2.14.

35. By the same author from the same discourse.[199]

For the body suffered and died, in accordance with the nature of bodies, but it had the pledge of incorruptibility from the Word who dwelt in it. For when the body died, the Word was not also put to death; but he was himself impassible, incorruptible, and immortal, since he is God the Word; and since he was joined to the body, he preserved it from the natural corruption of bodies, and that is why the Spirit says to him, "You will not give your holy one to see corruption."[200]

The Holy Damasus, Bishop of Rome

36. From an exposition.[201]

If anyone says that in the suffering of the cross the Son of God and God experienced distress, and not the flesh along with the soul, in which the form of the slave that he took for himself,[202] as Scripture said, clothed himself, let him be anathema.

[239] The Holy Ambrose, Bishop of Milan

37. From the [*discourse*] *about the universal faith.*[203]

There are some who have become so wicked as to think that the Lord's divinity was circumcised and went from perfect to imperfect, and that the flesh was not on the cross, but that divine substance that is the creator of all.

199. Athanasius of Alexandria, op. cit. 25–26. See Ettlinger, *Eranistes,* p. 21 n. 1.

200. Acts 2.27.

201. Damasus of Rome, *Letters (Letter 4, or a Confession of faith appended to a letter to Paulinus of Antioch). CPL* 1633. This is an excerpt from the so-called *Tome of Damasus.*

202. See Phil 2.7.

203. Ambrose of Milan, *On the Sacrament of the Lord's Incarnation* 6.50. *CPL* 152. This excerpt is almost identical with the text of Dialogue 3, citation 24.

38. By the same author from the same discourse.[204]

The flesh suffered, the divinity is free of death; he allowed his body to suffer by the law of human nature. For how can God die, when the soul cannot die? For he says, "Do not be afraid of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul."[205] If the soul cannot be killed, therefore, how can the divinity succumb to death?

The Holy Basil, Bishop of Caesarea

39. [*Untitled*].[206]

It is well known to everyone who understands in just a slight way the meaning of the Apostle's words, that he is not giving us a method of talking about God, but is clarifying the motives of the divine plan. "For God made him Lord and Christ, this Jesus, whom you crucified";[207] through the demonstrative "this" he clearly fixes upon his human reality that is visible to all.

The Holy Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzus

40. From the letter to Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople.[208]

The most terrible of all among the Church's misfortunes is the boldness with which the followers of Apollinarius speak, and I do not know how your holiness has allowed them [240] to procure for themselves the power to assemble as we do.

41. And soon after.[209]

And this is not yet serious; but the most terrible thing of all is that he maintains that the only begotten God, the judge of creation, the author of life, the destroyer of death, is himself mortal

204. Ambrose of Milan, *About the faith* 2.7.57. *CPL* 150. Theodoret's title here is incorrect.
205. Mt 10.28.
206. Basil of Caeasarea, *Five books against Eunomius* 2.3. *CPG* 2.2837.
207. Acts 2.36.
208. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Letter* 202.7. *CPG* 2.3032.
209. Gregory of Nazianzus, op. cit. 15–16.

and experienced the suffering in his own divinity, and that during those three days of the body's death the divinity had also been killed along with the body and so was raised again from death by the Father.

42. By the same author from the earlier exposition to Cledonius.[210]

If the human being has no soul, and the Arians also say this, in order to attribute the suffering to the divinity, on the grounds that that which moves the body is also what suffers. . . .

43. By the same author from the discourse on the Son.[211]

We still had to treat [his] being commanded, keeping the commandments, and doing everything pleasing to him [i.e., God]; also [his] perfection and exaltation, [his] learning obedience through his sufferings, the high priesthood and offering, the betrayal, the supplication to the one who could save from death, the agony, the bloody sweat, the prayer, and everything else like this. [We would have had to deal with these,] if it were not absolutely clear to everyone, that words like these with reference to suffering [do not apply to] the nature that is immutable and transcends suffering.

44. By the same author from the discourse on the Pasch.[212]

"Who is this that comes from Edom,"[213] and from the earth? How can the garments of the one who has no blood and no body be as red as those of a wine-presser who has stamped on the full wine-press? Display the beauty of the garment, the body that suffered, made beautiful by the suffering and glorified by the divinity, and nothing is more desirable and more beautiful than it.

210. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Letter* 101.34.

211. Gregory of Nazianzus, *45 discourses (= 30: Fourth theological oration or On the Son)* 16. *CPG* Supp.3010 (30).

212. Gregory of Nazianzus, *45 discourses (= 45: Second discourse on the holy Pasch)* 25. *CPG* Supp.3010 (45).

213. Is 63.1.

The Holy Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa

[241] 45. *From the catechetical discourse.*[214]

This is the [mystery],[215] in nature, of God's plan about death and resurrection from the dead: not preventing the soul from being separated by death from the body in accord with the necessary process of nature, and bringing them back together again through the resurrection.

46. By the same author from the same discourse.[216]

For the human being who receives God, the one who was raised up with the divinity through the resurrection, was from the same material as us, and not from something else; just as in our body, therefore, the action of one sense organ brings the individual united to the part to full sense perception, in the same way, as if the whole nature were a single living being, the resurrection of the part spreads to the whole, for that which is continuous with, and united to the nature is transferred from the part to the whole. So what do we learn outside the ordinary from the mystery,[217] if the one who stands bends toward the one who has fallen, to raise up the one who lies there?

47. By the same author from the same discourse.[218]

In this part it would also be suitable, not to look at one thing and ignore the other, but to perceive the human element in the death and pay close attention to the more divine element in the human being.

214. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Great Catechetical Discourse* 16. *CPG* 2.3150.

215. The word μυστήριον has been supplied here from the original text of Gregory.

216. Gregory of Nyssa, op. cit. 32.

217. Gregory's original text says "out of the ordinary in the mystery."

218. Gregory of Nyssa, op. cit.

48. By the same author from the work against Eunomius.[219]

The human nature does not give new life to Lazarus, nor does the impassible power weep for the one who lay dead;[220] weeping is proper to the human being, issues of true life are proper to life. Human poverty does not feed the multitudes,[221] the power that can do all things does not hurry to the fig tree.[222] Who was weary from the journey, and who effortlessly established the whole world with his word? What is the radiance of the glory?[223] What was pierced by the nails? Which form is beaten in the passion, and which is glorified from eternity?[224] The answers are obvious, even if no one offers a word of explanation.

49. By the same author from the same work.[225]

He censures those who attributed the passion to the human nature, for he absolutely wants to subject the divinity itself to the passion. For since opinion about whether either the divine or the human was involved in the suffering is divided and doubtful, [242] the rejection of the one absolutely builds up the other. So if they censure those who see that the passion relates to the human being, they have nothing but praise for those who say that the Son's divinity can suffer. And the argument constructed in this way becomes a defense of their absurd teaching. For if, as they say, the Son's divinity suffers, but the Father's is maintained in perfect impassibility, then the impassible nature is completely different from the one that undergoes the passion.

219. Gregory of Nyssa, *Books against Eunomius* 3.3.65–66. *CPG* 2.3135.
220. See Jn 11.1–44.
221. See Mt 14.13–21; Mk 6.32–44; Lk 9.10–17; Jn 6.1–15.
222. See Mt 21.19; Mk 11.13.
223. See Heb 1.3.
224. See Phil 2.6–7.
225. Gregory of Nyssa, op. cit. 3.4.4–5.

The Holy Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium

50. From the discourse on the text, "Amen, amen I say to you, 'Whoever hears my word and believes the one who sent me has eternal life.'"[226]

Who, then, suffered? The flesh. If you attribute the sufferings to the flesh, then, attribute the humble words to it as well, and apply the exalted words to the one to whom you assign the miracles. For the God who works miracles appropriately speaks words that are lofty and worthy of his works, and the human being who suffers fittingly speaks words that are humble and correspond to his sufferings.

51. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "My Father is greater than I."[227]

When you attribute the sufferings to the flesh and the miracles to God, whether you like it or not, you must also attribute the lowly words to the human being from Mary and the exalted words that are worthy of God to the Word that exists in the beginning. And so I sometimes speak exalted words and at other times lowly ones, in order to show the excellence of the indwelling Word through the lofty words, and to reveal the weakness of the humble flesh through the humble ones. That is why I sometimes say that I am equal to the Father, and at other times that the Father is greater; I am not contradicting myself, but am showing that I am God and a human being: God from the lofty words and a human being from the humble ones. And if you want to know how the Father is greater than I, I spoke from the flesh, not from the person of the divinity.

226. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 11 (Discourse on the text, "Amen, amen I say to you, 'Whoever hears my word'"* [*Jn 6.51*]*). CPG* 2.3245.11.

227. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 12 (Discourse on the text, "My Father is greater than I"* [*Jn 14.28*]*). CPG* 2.3245.12.

[243] *52. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "If it is possible, let this cup pass away from me."*[228]

Do not, therefore, attribute the sufferings of the flesh to the impassible Word. For I am God and a human being, heretic: God as the miracles testify, a human being as the sufferings show. Since I am both God and a human being, therefore, tell me who suffered. If God suffered, you have blasphemed; but if the flesh suffered, why not attribute the suffering to that of which you predicate fear? For when one suffers, another is not afraid, and when a human being is crucified, God is not distressed.

53. By the same author from the discourse against the Arians.[229]

And to avoid going on at great length, heretic, I ask you briefly: Did the one who was born of God before the ages suffer, or was it Jesus, who was born of David in later times? If the divinity suffered, therefore, you have blasphemed; but if it was the human being, which is the truth, why then do you not attribute the passion to the human being?

54. By the same author from the discourse about the Son.[230]

For after Peter said that "God made him Lord and Christ," he added, "This Jesus, whom you crucified,"[231] God raised him from the dead.[232] It was not the divinity that died, but the human being, and the one who raised him is the Word, the power of God, who said in the Gospel, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I shall raise it."[233] So if it is said, "God made him Lord and Christ,"[234] the one who was put to death and rose from the dead, it is speaking about the flesh, and not about the Son's divinity.

228. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 7 (Discourse on the text, "Father, if it is possible" [Mt 26.39]). CPG* 2.3245.7.

229. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 2 (Discourse on the text, "My Father is greater than I"). CPG* 2.3245.2.

230. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 1 (Discourse about the Son). CPG* 2.3245.1.

231. Acts 2.36.

232. See Acts 4.10.

233. Jn 2.19.

234. Acts 2.36.

55. By the same author from the discourse on the text, "The Son cannot do anything on his own."[235]

For he did not have such a nature that his life was subjected to corruption, and for that reason the divinity was not drawn into suffering; how could it? But the humanity was renewed into incorruptibility. "For it is necessary," he says, "that this mortal part put on immortality and this corruptible part put on incorruptibility."[236] [244] Do you see the accuracy? "This" pointed categorically to the mortal part, lest you think that a different flesh rose.

The Holy Flavian, Bishop of Antioch

56. On the Sunday of the Pasch.[237]

The cross is preached to us openly, and we confess the Lord's death, because the divinity suffers nothing, for the divine is impassible, but the body fulfills the divine plan.

57. By the same author on Judas the traitor.[238]

When you hear, therefore, that the Lord is betrayed, do not bring the divine dignity into contempt, and do not ascribe the bodily sufferings to the divine power, since the divine is impassible and unchangeable. For even if he adopted the form of a slave out of love for humanity,[239] he was not changed in his nature, but, remaining what he was, he permitted the divine body to experience death.

Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria

58. From a paschal document.[240]

For the souls of animals that lack reason are not taken away and brought back again, but perish with their bodies and dissolve

235. Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fragment 10d (Discourse on the text, "The Son cannot do anything on his own" [Jn 5.19]). CPG* 2.3245.10d.
236. 1 Cor 15.53.
237. Flavian of Antioch, *On the Pasch. CPG* 2.3435.8.
238. Flavian of Antioch, *On Judas the traitor. CPG* 2.3435.7.
239. See Phil 2.6–7.
240. Theophilus of Alexandria, *Letter 17 (fragment). CPG* 2.2586.2.

into dust. At the time of the crucifixion, however, the savior took his soul away from his body, raised it from the dead, and brought it back into the body. And he guaranteed this when he prophesied through the Psalmist with the proclamation, "You will not abandon my soul to the underworld, nor will you hand over your holy one to see corruption."[241]

The Blessed Gelasius, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine

59. From the discourse on the Manifestation.[242]

He was bound, wounded, crucified, handled, bore bruises, and suffered a wound [245] from a spear. The body that was born of Mary experienced all this. But no one could injure that which was begotten of the Father before time, because the Word did not have that type of nature. For how can one restrain divinity? How can one wound it? How can one bloody the nature that has no body? How can one enclose it in the bonds of the tomb? Constrained by the limits set by necessity, therefore, reverence what you cannot injure, and honor divinity.

The Holy John, Bishop of Constantinople

60. From the discourse on the text, "My Father is still working, and I am also working."[243]

"What sign do you show us, since you do these things?"[244] And what does he say? "Destroy this temple," he says, "and I shall raise it in three days";[245] he was talking about his own body,[246] but they did not understand.

241. Ps 16.10 (LXX 15.10).
242. Gelasius of Caesarea, *Dogmatic Fragments (On the Epiphany). CPG* 2.3520.
243. John Chrysostom, *(Homily 10) on the text, "My Father is still working" (Jn 5.17)* 2. *CPG* 2.4441.10.
244. Jn 2.18.
245. Jn 2.19.
246. See Jn 2.21.

61. And after a few lines.[247]

Why is it that the evangelist did not pass over this, but added a correction when he said, "He was talking about the temple of his body"?[248] For he did not say, "Destroy" this body, but, "the temple,"[249] in order to reveal the God who dwelt within [it]. "Destroy this temple," which is much greater than the Jewish one. For the latter held the Law, but the former held the lawgiver; the latter had the letter that kills, but the former had the life-giving spirit.[250]

62. By the same author from the discourse that the humble words and actions came, not from weakness of power, but from differences due to a divine plan.[251]

So why does he say here, "If it is possible"?[252] He shows us the weakness of the human nature, which does not choose simply to be torn from the present life, but which draws back and hesitates because of its love for the present life implanted in it by God from the beginning. For after he said so many wonderful things, if people dared to say that he did not assume flesh, what wouldn't they have said, if he had said none of this?

[*246*] *63. By the same author from the same discourse.*[253]

See how they also foretold his former age. Ask the heretic, therefore, if God is afraid, hesitates, draws back, or grieves. And if he should say yes, shun him from that time on and place him down below with the devil, or even lower than the devil, for not even the devil would dare to say this. But if he were to say that none of these things are worthy of God, say, "God does not pray either." For apart from this, there will also be another strange thing involved if these are the words of God. For the words indi-

247. John Chrysostom, op. cit.
248. Jn 2.21.
249. See Jn 2.19.
250. See Jn 6.63.
251. John Chrysostom, *On the consubstantial (= Homily 7 on the incomprehensible nature of God)* 6. *CPG* 2.4320.
252. Mt 26.39.
253. John Chrysostom, op. cit. 6.

cate not only agony, but also two wills, one of a Son and the other of a Father, opposed to each another. For the phrase, "Not as I will, but as you will,"[254] is said by one who indicates this.

64. By the same author from the same discourse.[255]

For if this were said about the divinity, a certain contradiction exists, and many strange consequences derive from it. But if it were said about the flesh, then the statement is reasonable, and there would be no ground for complaint. For not wanting the flesh to die is not blameworthy, since it flows from nature. And except for sin,[256] he exhibits all the properties of the nature, and in a superabundant way, so that he can shut the mouths of the heretics. And so, when he says, "If it is possible, let this cup pass from me," and, "Not as I wish, but as you wish,"[257] he is simply showing that he is truly clothed with flesh that fears death. For fearing death, drawing back, and being in agony are attributes of the flesh. Now he allows it to be abandoned and stripped of its own activity, in order to display its weakness and confirm its nature. But at other times he conceals it, so that you might learn that he was not a mere human being.

Severian, Bishop of Gabala

65. From the discourse on the seals.[258]

The Jews fight the visible, because they are ignorant of the invisible, and they crucify the flesh, but do not destroy the divinity. For if my word does not disappear with the letter, which is the word's garment, did God the Word, the source of life, die with the flesh? The suffering concerns the body, while impassibility concerns his worthiness.

[247] *Orthodox.* You see that we have shown you that those who tend the eastern and western, as well as the northern and southern regions of the world, reject your new heresy and clearly preach that the divine nature is impassible, and that both lan-

254. Mt 26.39.
255. John Chrysostom, op. cit.
256. See Heb 4.15.
257. Mt 26.39.
258. Severian of Gabala, *Discourse on the Seals. CPG* 2.4209.

guages, i.e., the Greek and the Roman, proclaimed a harmonious confession about divine matters.

Eranistes. I'm also amazed at the agreement of these men, although I noticed a great deal of division in their words.

Orthodox. Don't be angry, my friend. For the mighty struggle against their adversaries is the reason for their lack of moderation. People who take care of vineyards like to do the very same thing. For when they see a plant bent over, they not only set it up against a straight stick, but they also bend it beyond the vertical to the other side, so that the extra inclination in the opposite direction can bring about the vertical position. And now in order that you might know that those who are struggling to maintain this polymorphous heresy are eager to eclipse even the ancient heresiarchs with their extravagant blasphemies, listen again to the writings of Apollinarius, which proclaim that the divine nature is impassible and confess that the suffering pertains to the body.

Apollinarius

66. From the book, A Summary.[259]

John said that the temple, that is, the body of the one who raised it, was destroyed.[260] The body was entirely one with him, and he is not someone else among them. But if the Lord's body was one with the Lord, then the properties of the body became his properties because of the body.

67. And again.[261]

For this is true, that the joining with the body does not take place through a limitation of the Word, so that he can have nothing more than embodiment. Even in death, therefore, immortality remains with him. For if the Word transcends this composition, then he also transcends dissolution. And death is a dis-

259. Apollinarius, *To Diodore or the book, "A Summary." CPG* 2.3657.
260. See Jn 2.19.
261. Apollinarius, op. cit.

solution. For he was not restrained by the composition, because in that case the world would have been emptied; and in the dissolution, he did not, like the soul, endure the neediness that comes from dissolution.

[*248*] *68. And again.*[262]

The savior says that dead people go forth from their tombs,[263] even though their souls do not go forth from there; in the same way he says that he too will rise from the dead,[264] even though it is the body that rises.

69. And in another, similar work he wrote the following.[265]

Being raised from the dead is proper to a human being, while the act of raising is proper to God. But Christ was both; the same one was, therefore, God and a human being. If Christ were only a human being, he would not have given new life to the dead, and if he were only God, he would not have given new life to some of the dead on his own, apart from the Father. But Christ was both; the same one was, therefore, both God and a human being. If Christ were only a human being, he would not have saved the world; and if he were only God, he would not have saved it through suffering. But Christ was both; he is, therefore, both God and a human being. If Christ were only a human being or only God, he would not have been mediator between God and human beings.[266]

70. And soon after.[267]

Flesh is an instrument of life adapted to the sufferings in accordance with the divine plans, and neither words nor actions are properties of flesh; and when the flesh is subjected to the suffer-

262. Ibid.
263. See Mt 11.5.
264. See Lk 9.22.
265. Apollinarius, *Recapitulation*. *CPG* 2.3658.
266. See 1 Tm 2.5.
267. Apollinarius, op. cit.

ings in accordance with that which belongs properly to flesh, it prevails against the sufferings, because it is God's flesh.

71. And again soon after.[268]

The Son took flesh from the virgin and came into the world; he filled the flesh with the Holy Spirit for the sanctification of us all. He handed the flesh over to death, and destroyed death through the resurrection that was for the resurrection of us all.

72. In the little book about faith he says the following.[269]

And since the sufferings pertained to the flesh, his power kept its impassibility. Anyone who attributes the suffering to the power is, therefore, evil.

73. And in the little book on the Incarnation he again wrote this.[270]

Here, therefore, he shows that the same one who as a human being was raised from the dead rules over all creation as God.

Orthodox. So far you have seen that one of the teachers of the vain heresy clearly preaches the impassibility of the divinity, that he calls the body a temple and strongly maintains that God the Word raised it.

Eranistes. I have listened with amazement, and I am deeply ashamed that [249] our ideas have been seen as to be more avoided than even this man's innovation.

Orthodox. I shall offer you a witness from another heretical group, who clearly proclaims the impassibility of the only begotten's divinity.

Eranistes. To whom are you referring?

Orthodox. You may have heard of Eusebius,[271] the Phoeni-

268. Actually, this is Apollinarius, *The faith in detail* 35. *CPG* 2.3645.
269. Ibid.
270. Apollinarius, *On the Incarnation. CPG* 2.3649.
271. Eusebius was a native of Edessa, a major center of Syrian Christianity.

cian,[272] who was the high priest of Emesa,[273] the city near the Lebanon.[274]

Eranistes. I read some of his writings and found that he agrees with the teachings of Arius.

Orthodox. He happened to be a member of that group, and yet, even though he tries to show that the Father is greater than the only begotten, he preaches that the divinity of the one who is diminished was impassible, and he underwent long and very remarkable struggles for this teaching.

Eranistes. I have a great desire to hear your presentation of these words of his.

Orthodox. Well then, I'll offer a rather lengthy testimony, in order to satisfy your desire. Listen to the man's preaching, therefore, and imagine that he himself is speaking to us.

Eusebius of Emesa

74. [*Untitled*][275]

> For why does he fear death? It's not because he would suffer something from death, is it? For what was death to him? It was the power leaving the flesh, wasn't it? For it was not the power that received the nail, so that it had to be afraid, was it?
>
> For our soul does not suffer what the body suffers, even though it coexists with the body: The eye goes blind, and the mind stays healthy; a foot is cut off, and the power of reason does not limp. Nature testifies to this, and the Lord confirms it when he says, "Do not fear those who can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul."[276] They cannot make the soul suffer what the body that is joined to it suffers, not because they do not want

272. The Phoenicians were an ancient people who inhabited the area of the eastern Mediterranean coast that became the Roman province of Syria. Theodoret may be using the term ironically in order to link Eusebius with a pre-Christian pagan people.

273. Emesa, modern Homs, was a city in Roman Syria.

274. The name Lebanon refers in biblical and patristic times to a mountain range in Syria.

275. Eusebius of Emesa, *On free will, the will of Paul, and the Lord's passion. CPG* 2.3525.1.

276. Mt 10.28.

this, but because they cannot do it, even if they wish to do it. If all of this is true, then, does the one who created the soul and formed the body suffer what the body suffers, even if he most definitely takes the body's sufferings to himself?

But "Christ suffered for us,"[277] and we are not lying, or he gave [this], if he gave anything. "For the bread that I shall give is my flesh,"[278] which he gave [250] for us. That which could be conquered was conquered, and that which could be crucified was crucified. But the one who has the power to dwell in and to leave [it] says this: "Father, into your hands I entrust my spirit,"[279] not to the hands of those who were forcing the departure. I am not contentious; instead I avoid controversy. I want to investigate the disputed issues quietly and in a fraternal spirit. Am I not speaking the truth when I say that the power could not have experienced the sufferings of the flesh? I am silent, therefore; let the one who is so inclined say what the power suffered. Was it defective? Look at the danger. Was it extinguished? Look at the blasphemy. Did it no longer exist? For this is the death of power. Declare what can defeat [it so] that it suffered, and I do not argue. If you have nothing to say, why are you angry at me, because I do not say what you cannot say?

[The power] did not suffer the nail. Drive [the nail] into the soul, and I admit [that it went] into the power. But it shared in suffering. Explain to me the term "shared in suffering." What does "shared in suffering" mean? As a nail affects the flesh, so suffering affects the power. Let us say that this is what "shared in suffering" means. The power, which is not struck, felt pain, for pain certainly follows suffering. But if, when the mind is healthy, the body often despises pains because of the power of thought, let someone explain, peacefully, whether it suffered something, or whether it shared in some suffering. So what can be said? Did Christ not die for us?[280] How did he die? "Father, into your hands I entrust my spirit."[281] The spirit departed, the body remained, the body remained without breath. Did he not die, then? He "died for us."[282] As it was written (not in my imagination, but as I hear): "He died for us."[283]

The shepherd offered the sheep, the priest offered the sac-

277. 1 Pt 2.21.
278. Jn 6.51.
279. Lk 23.46.
280. See Rom 5.8.
281. Lk 23.46.
282. Rom 5.8.
283. Ibid.

rifice. "He gave himself for us,"[284] and, "Who did not spare his own Son, but gave his Son for all of us."[285] I do not reject the words, but I am searching for the meaning of the words. The Lord says that "the bread of God came down from heaven."[286] And even though I cannot speak too clearly because of the mysteries, he interprets this by saying that, "It is my flesh."[287] Did the flesh of the Son come down from heaven? It did not come down from heaven. How, then, can he say as an interpretation, "The [251] bread of God" lives, and "came down from heaven"?[288]

Since the power that assumed came down from heaven, he attributes to the flesh what the power has. Turn this around, therefore, [and] he attributes to the power what the flesh suffers. How did Christ suffer for us?[289] He was spat upon and hit on the temple, they bound a wreath around his forehead, and his hands and feet were gouged. All these sufferings belong to the body, but are attributed to the one who dwells [in it]. Throw a stone at the emperor's image; what is said? You have insulted the emperor. Cut the emperor's cloak; what is said? You have revolted against the emperor. Crucify Christ's body; what is said? "Christ died for us."[290] What need is there for me and you? Let us go to the evangelists. How did you learn from the Lord how the Lord died? They read, "Father, into your hands I entrust my spirit."[291] The spirit is above, and the body is on the cross for us. For he offered the sheep. Whatever belongs to the body is attributed to him.

75. By the same author from the same discourse.[292]

He came to save our nature, not to destroy his own. If I want to say that a camel flies, you are immediately shocked, because it does not fit the nature; and you are correct. If I want to say that human beings live in the sea, you do not accept it; and you are correct, because the nature does not allow this. It is like this therefore; if I would say of those natures things that are of a different nature, you are amazed; in the same way, if I were to say

284. Ti 2.14.
285. Rom 8.32.
286. See Jn 6.33, 50.
287. See Jn 6.55.
288. See Jn 6.33, 50.
289. See 1 Pt 2.21.
290. Rom 5.8.
291. Lk 23.46.
292. Eusebius of Emesa, op. cit.

that that power, which is before the ages, bodiless in nature, impassible in dignity, existing with the Father, by the Father's side, at the right hand, in glory, if I were to say that that bodiless nature suffers, do you not close your ears? If you will not close your ears when you hear this, I shall close my heart.

Can we do anything to an angel, such as cut it with a sword, or divide it completely? Why do I say "to an angel"? Can we do it to a soul? A soul does not experience a nail, it is not cut, it is not burned. And if you should ask me, "Why," I say to you, "It was made this way." Are his works impassible, and he is passible? I am not rejecting the divine plan, and I welcome the acts of malice. "Christ died for us"[293] [252] and was crucified. This is what was written, and this is what the nature experienced. I do not erase the words or blaspheme the nature. But this is not true. Let truer words be spoken, not out of anger, but to do good.

The teacher is not hostile, unless the student is ungrateful. You have something good to say, my ears are open with thanks. One argues if one has the leisure to pursue an argument. Did the Jews have the power to crucify the Son of God, to kill power itself? Can one who lives die? The death of such power is its extinction. When we die, our body remains. If we put that power to death, we reduce it to nonexistence. I do not know if you could hear [this]. If the body dies, the soul is separated and continues to exist. But if the soul dies, since it has no body, it does not exist at all. A soul that dies does not exist at all, for the death of immortal things leads to nonexistence.

Consider the alternative, for I do not even dare to say it. We say these things as we understand them. But we make no laws, if someone is argumentative. But I know one thing, that each one has to reap the fruits of his thoughts; and each one comes before God and presents what he said and thought about God. Do not think that God reads books, or is upset because of having to remember, What did you say and what did you do? Everything is out in the open. The judge sits. Paul is brought in there.[294] "You said that I was a human being; you do not have life with me.

293. Rom 5.8.

294. This refers to Paul of Samosata, who became bishop of Antioch in about 260 and was deposed in 268. He apparently held an adoptionist Christology that was thought to have influenced Arius; in the fifth century he was sometimes considered a predecessor of Nestorius.

> Since you did not know me, I do not know you." Another comes forward: "You said that I was a creature; you did not know my dignity, I do not know you." Another comes forward: "You said that I did not assume a body; you rejected my grace, you will not share my immortality." Another has come forward: "You said that I was not born of a virgin in order to save the virgin's body; you shall not be saved." Each one bears [the effects of] his thoughts about the faith.

Orthodox. You have seen that even the other faction of your teachers, which supposedly taught you that the divinity of the only begotten one suffered, rejects this blasphemy, proclaims the impassibility of the divinity, and breaks the ranks of those who dare to attribute the suffering to it.

[253] *Eranistes.* I saw the struggles with amazement and I admire the man for his thoughts and ideas.

Orthodox. In that case, my good man, imitate the bees and fly in your mind around the meadows of divine Scripture; collect[295] the precious blossoms of the wholly blessed fathers, and please construct in yourself the honeycombs of the faith. And if you should find somewhere a plant that is neither edible nor sweet, like this Apollinarius or Eusebius, but that can nevertheless be useful for making honey, there is nothing wrong with taking what is of use, while leaving behind what is harmful. For bees often alight upon poisonous plants, but they too leave behind what is deadly and gather what is useful. We propose these thoughts to you, my friend, in keeping with the law of friendship. And you will do well to take this advice. But if you do not listen, we shall repeat those words of the Apostle, "We are pure."[296] For we have given a warning, as we were commanded, in accordance with the words of the prophet.[297]

295. Ἐρανισάμενος. This is the verb from which the name "Eranistes" is derived. Theodoret closes the dialogues with a final play on the meaning of these words, to show that one can form orthodox, as well as heretical, teaching with material gathered from various sources. See above, Introduction, p. 3.

296. Acts 20.26.

297. The reference is obscure, but see Ezek 3.18–19; in the LXX text the same Greek verb is used in a similar context for "give a warning".

[EPILOGUE][1]

That God the Word is immutable

We confessed that there is one substance of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and we have said with one voice that this substance is unchangeable. If there is one substance of the Trinity, therefore, and it is immutable, then the only begotten Son, who is one person of the Trinity, is immutable. And if he is immutable, he surely did not become flesh by changing, but he is said to have become flesh by taking flesh.

2. If God the Word became flesh by undergoing a change into flesh, then he was not immutable. For no sensible person would call something that was changed immutable. But if the Word is not immutable, then he is not of the same substance as the one who begot [him]. For how can part of the uncompounded substance be mutable, while another part is immutable? And if we were to concede this, we shall certainly fall into the blasphemy of Arius and Eunomius. For they say that the Son is of a different substance.

3. If the Son is of the same substance as the Father, and the Son became flesh by undergoing a transformation into flesh, then the substance is mutable, not immutable. But if someone would risk this blasphemy, he will undoubtedly increase it by blaspheming against the Father. For he would surely also call him mutable, since he shares the same substance.

4. The divine Scriptures say that God the Word took flesh as

1. Although there is no title for this section in the Greek text, at the end of the Prologue (p. 3) Theodoret says that, "to further the controversy," he will add a section in three parts, corresponding to the three dialogues, in which he will attempt to sum up the lengthy arguments presented in the dialogues in brief, almost syllogistic form.

well as a soul, and the most divine evangelist said, "The Word became flesh."[2] So we must do one of two things: Either we must admit that the Word changed into flesh and reject all of divine Scripture, old and new, because it teaches lies, or we must believe divine Scripture, confess the assumption of the flesh, and drive change away from our thoughts, because we understand the Gospel passage correctly. The latter must be done, therefore, since we confess that the nature of God the Word is immutable and have countless witnesses for the assumption of the flesh.

5. That which inhabits [something] is different from that which is inhabited; but the evangelist called the flesh a dwelling-place [255] and said that God the Word dwelt in it. For he says, "The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us."[3] If he became flesh by changing, he did not dwell in flesh. But we have learned that he did indeed dwell in flesh. For in another passage the same evangelist also called his body a temple.[4] We must, therefore, believe the evangelist, who construed the passage and explained what seemed ambiguous to some.

6. If the evangelist added nothing that could solve the ambiguity after he wrote, "The Word became flesh,"[5] the argument about the passage would perhaps have had a reasonable basis, namely, the obscurity of the text. But since he immediately added, "dwelt among us,"[6] those who quarrel argue in vain. For the passage that follows explains the words that precede it.

7. The all-wise evangelist clearly proclaimed the immutability of God the Word. For after he said, "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us,"[7] he immediately added, "And we have seen his glory, glory as of an only begotten [son] from a father, filled with grace and truth."[8] Now if he had undergone a transformation into flesh, as foolish people say, he would not have remained what he was. But if he was emitting rays of the Father's excellence even though he was concealed in flesh, he

2. Jn 1.14a.
3. Jn 1.14ab.
4. See Jn 2.19.
5. Jn 1.14a.
6. Jn 1.14b.
7. Jn 1.14ab.
8. Jn 1.14cd.

surely possesses the immutable nature, is resplendent even in the body and gives off the radiance of the invisible nature. For nothing can dim that light: "For the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not grasp it,"[9] as the most divine John says.

8. Since the wholly blessed evangelist wished to explain the glory of the only begotten [Son],[10] but could not at that time complete the undertaking, he shows it through the relationship with the Father. For his being, he says, is from that nature; by his doing this it is just as if someone who saw Joseph serving in a way beneath his dignity would say to people who were unaware of his illustrious lineage that Jacob was his father and Abraham his forefather. For in this way he also said that he did not dim the glory of the nature by dwelling among us. "For we have seen his glory, glory as of an only begotten [son] from a father."[11] And if [256] he obviously was who he was, even after becoming flesh, then he has remained what he was and did not undergo a change into flesh.

9. We confessed that God the Word assumed not mere flesh, but also a soul. Then why do you suppose the divine evangelist omitted the soul here and spoke only of flesh? Or is it clear that he displayed the nature that was visible and through it revealed the nature that was joined to it by nature? It is clear, since thought about the soul presumably also goes along with reference to the flesh. For when we hear the prophet say, "Let all flesh bless his holy name,"[12] we do not imagine that the prophet is exhorting soulless units of flesh; no, we believe that through the part the whole is called to sing hymns of praise.

10. The passage, "The Word became flesh,"[13] points to indescribable love for humanity, not change. For the wholly blessed evangelist said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God";[14] he showed that he was the creator of visible and invisible reality[15] and called him life

9. Jn 1.5.
10. See Jn 1.14cd.
11. Jn 1.14cd.
12. Ps 145.21 (LXX 144.21).
13. Jn 1.14a.
14. Jn 1.1.
15. See Jn 1.3.

and true light[16] and other things like this; he spoke of God in a way that the human mind could comprehend and the tongue could express with its language; and after all this, he added, "And the Word became flesh,"[17] as though he was amazed and astounded at the immense love of humanity. And so, although the Word exists eternally, is God, is with God eternally, made all things, and is the source of eternal life and true light,[18] he formed the dwelling-place of flesh for himself in order to save human beings. But he was thought to be only that which was visible. This is why he did not even mention the soul, but spoke of the perishable and mortal flesh alone; he said nothing about the soul as immortal, in order to reveal the infinite benignity.

11. The divine Apostle calls Christ the Lord "seed of Abraham."[19] If this is true, and it is true, then God the Word was not changed into flesh, but, according to the Apostle's teaching, took hold of the seed of Abraham.[20]

[257] 12. God swore to David that Christ would rise according to the flesh from the fruit of his loins, as the prophet has said and mighty Peter explained.[21] Now if God the Word was changed into flesh and was called Christ, we shall never discover the truth of the oaths. Yet we have been taught that God is not a liar, but is rather absolute truth. God the Word did not, therefore, undergo a transformation into flesh, but in accordance with the promise took the first fruit from David's seed.

That the union was free of mixture

1. Those who believe that there was one nature of divinity and humanity after the union destroy the properties of the natures with this idea, and destroying them denies both natures. For mixing together the things that were united does not permit one to see that flesh is flesh, or that God is God. But if the difference between the things that were united is clear even af-

16. See Jn 1.4.
17. Jn 1.14a.
18. See Jn 1.1–5.
19. See Heb 2.16.
20. Ibid.
21. See Ps 132.11 (LXX 131.11) and Acts 2.30.

ter the union, then there was not a mixture, but a union that was free of mixture. And if this is the confession agreed upon, then Christ the Lord is not one nature, but one Son, who displays each nature unadulterated.

2. We say, and they also agree to confess that the union took place at conception. So if the union has mixed together and blended the natures, how could the flesh be seen after birth without anything new? But it displayed the human form, retained the limitations of an infant, put up with the swaddling-clothes, and nursed at its mother's breast. If this has all been accomplished through illusion and mere appearance, then we have also obtained salvation through illusion and mere appearance. But if even these people themselves do not, as they claim, admit illusion and mere appearance, then what was visible was truly a body. And if this is the confession agreed upon, then the union did not blend the natures together, but each one has remained unadulterated.

3. Those who concocted this complex and polymorphous heresy sometimes say that God the Word became flesh, while at other times they say that the flesh underwent a transformation into the nature of the divinity. Each statement is worthless, useless, and full of lies. For if God the [258] Word became flesh in accordance with their understanding, why in the world do they call him God, and only this, and why are they unwilling to call him a human being as well, but instead make strong accusations against us, who along with our confession that he is God, also say that he is a human being? But if the flesh was transformed into the nature of the divinity why do they partake of the representations[22] of the body? For the type is superfluous when the reality has been destroyed.

4. A nature that has no body does not undergo bodily circumcision. The word "bodily" has been added because of the spiritual circumcision of the heart.[23] Circumcision surely affects

22. Ἀντίτυπος. The context indicates that Theodoret is speaking of participation in the Eucharist, which he finds meaningless if the savior did not have true human flesh.

23. See Rom 2.29.

the body. But Christ was circumcised;[24] Christ the Lord, therefore, had a body. And if this is the confession agreed upon, then the idea of mixture has also been refuted.

5. We have in fact learned that Christ the savior was hungry and thirsty and we believe that these things really happened and were not illusions. But these are not proper to a bodiless nature, but to a body. Christ the Lord, therefore, had a body that before the resurrection was subject to the things that affect the nature. The divine Apostle also testifies to this, when he says, "For we do not have a high priest who cannot sympathize with our weaknesses, but he was tested in every way like us, except for sin."[25] For sin does not belong to the nature, but flows from the evil free will.

6. The prophet David said about the divine nature, "The one who guards Israel will not doze or fall asleep."[26] Now the account of the Gospels shows Christ the Lord asleep in the boat.[27] But sleeping is the opposite of not sleeping; the words of the prophet clearly contradict those of the Gospel, therefore, if Christ the Lord is only God, as they say. But in reality they are not contradictory, for both of them flow from one Spirit. Christ the Lord, therefore, had a body that was the same as other bodies, since it experienced the need for sleep, and the argument for mixture has been shown to be a fable.

7. The prophet Isaiah has said about the divine nature, "He will not be hungry, nor will he grow weary,"[28] etc.; and the evangelist [259] says, "Jesus grew weary from the journey and therefore sat down by the well."[29] Now the phrase "he will not grow weary"[30] is the opposite of growing weary; the prophecy, therefore, contradicts the account of the Gospels. But they are not really contradictory, since they both come from one God. Not growing weary pertains, therefore, to the infinite nature, because it fills all things; but movement is proper to the body that is finite. And when that which moves is forced to walk, it be-

24. See Lk 2.21.
25. Heb 4.15.
26. Ps 121.4 (LXX 120.4).
27. See Mt 8.23.
28. Is 40.28.
29. Jn 4.6.
30. Is 40.28.

comes subject to the weariness of the journey. It was the body, therefore, that walked and grew weary. For the union did not mix the natures together.

8. When divinely inspired Paul was in prison, Christ the Lord said to him, "Do not be afraid, Paul,"[31] etc. But the one who drove away Paul's fear was himself so afraid of suffering, as blessed Luke said, that he shed bloody drops of sweat from his whole body, sprinkled the ground beneath his body with them, and was strengthened by the assistance of an angel.[32] But these passages are contradictory. For how can being afraid not be contradictory to driving away fear? But they are not really contradictory. For the same one was both God by nature and a human being, and as God he strengthens those who need courage, while as a human being he receives courage through an angel. But even though the divinity and the Spirit were present as an anointing, at that time neither the divinity joined [to it] nor the all-Holy Spirit supported the body and encouraged the soul; instead they entrusted this service to an angel, in order that they might show clearly the weakness of the soul and the body, and that the natures of the things that were weak might be revealed through the weakness.

This clearly happened with the permission of the divine nature, so that people in future times who believed in the assumption of the soul and the body could be fortified by the presentation of the evidence, while their opponents could be refuted by unequivocal testimonies. If the union, therefore, was joined at conception, and if the union, according to what those people say, made both natures one nature, how could the properties of the natures have remained distinct? How could the soul have been in agony, and how could the body have perspired, so that it shed drops of blood out of overwhelming fear? If the latter is proper to the body, while the former is proper to the soul, then one nature of flesh and divinity did not result from the union,

31. This is a conflation of two passages: In Acts 27.23–24 Paul is on a ship, and an angel tells him not to be afraid; in Acts 23.11 the Lord comes to Paul in prison and tells him to keep up his courage.

32. See Lk 22.43–44.

[260] but one Son appeared, who shows in himself both the divine and the human.

9. If they were to say that, after the resurrection, the body was transformed into divinity, one must answer in this way. Even after the resurrection it was seen as finite, with hands, feet, and the other bodily limbs; it could be touched and seen and had the wounds and scars that it had before the resurrection. So one must say either of two things: Add these limbs to the divine nature, if the body was transformed into the nature of the divinity and possesses these limbs, or confess that the body remained within the limits of its nature. Now the divine nature is simple and uncompounded, while the body is composite and divided into many members; it was not, therefore, transformed into the nature of the divinity, but after the resurrection it is also immortal, incorruptible[33] and filled with divine glory, even though it still remains a body with its own limitations.

10. After the resurrection the Lord showed his hands, his feet, and the marks of the nails, to the unbelieving apostles. Then to teach them that what they saw was not some illusion he added, "A spirit does not have flesh and bones, as you see that I have."[34] The body was not, therefore, transformed into a spirit, for it was flesh and bones, hands and feet. Even after the resurrection, therefore, the body has remained a body.

11. The divine nature is invisible; but the thrice-blessed Stephen said that he saw the Lord.[35] The Lord's body is a body, therefore, even after the ascension. For this is what the victorious Stephen saw, since the divine nature is invisible.

12. According to what the Lord himself said, all human nature will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven;[36] and he also said to Moses, "No one will see my face and live";[37] if both these sayings are true, then he will come with the body with which he went up into heaven, for it is visible. The angels also said this to the apostles: "This Jesus, who was taken from you up into heaven, will come in the same way that you saw him

33. See 1 Cor 15.52–53.
34. Lk 24.39.
35. See Acts 7.56.
36. See Mt 26.64.
37. Ex 33.20.

going into heaven."[38] But if [261] this is true, as in fact it is true, then there is not one nature of flesh and divinity; for the union is free of mixture.

That the divinity of the Savior is impassible

1. We were taught by divine Scripture and the holy fathers who were gathered at Nicaea to confess that the Son is of the same substance as God the Father. The nature demonstrates the impassibility of the Father, and divine Scripture proclaims it. We shall, therefore, confess that the Son is also impassible; for the identity of substance teaches this definition. And so whenever we hear divine Scripture proclaim the cross and the death of Christ the Lord, we shall say that the passion belongs to the flesh. For the divinity that is impassible by nature cannot suffer in any way.

2. Christ the Lord said, "Everything that the Father has, is mine";[39] impassibility is surely one part of "everything." If he is, therefore, impassible as God, then he suffered as a human being, for the divine nature does not submit to suffering.

3. The Lord said, "The bread that I shall give is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world."[40] And he also said, "I am the good shepherd, and I know mine and am known by mine; and I lay down my life for the sheep."[41] The good shepherd, therefore, gave his body and soul on behalf of the sheep that have bodies and souls.

4. The nature of human beings is composed of a body and a soul. But it sinned and needed a sacrifice completely free of fault. The creator assumed a body and a soul, therefore, kept them free from the stains of sin, and gave his body on behalf of bodies and his soul on behalf of souls. If this is true, and it is true, for these are the words of truth itself, then those who at-

38. Acts 1.11.
39. Jn 16.15.
40. Jn 6.51.
41. Jn 10.14–15. Since ψυχή can mean both "life" (as here) and "soul" (as the principle of life in a human being), Theodoret cites this text as scriptural proof that Christ possessed a human soul.

tribute the suffering to the divine nature are talking nonsense as well as blasphemy.

5. Blessed Paul called Christ the Lord "first-born from the dead."[42] But the first-born surely has the same [262] nature as those of whom he is called first-born. So he is, therefore, first-born from the dead as a human being, since he first destroyed the anguish of death and gave the sweet hope of new life to all. And he suffered in the same way in which he rose. As a human being, therefore, he suffered, but as awesome God he remained impassible.

6. The divine Apostle called Christ the savior "the firstfruit of those who had fallen asleep";[43] the firstfruit has a relationship with the whole group of which it is a firstfruit. He is, therefore, not called firstfruit insofar as he is God. For what relationship exists between divinity and humanity, since one nature is immortal, while the other is mortal? And the latter is the type of nature shared by those who have fallen asleep, of whom Christ was called firstfruit. Death and resurrection, therefore, pertain to this nature. For we have the resurrection of this nature as a pledge of the general resurrection.

7. Because Christ the Lord wanted to persuade the doubting apostles that he had risen and destroyed death, he showed them the limbs of his body, his side, his hands, his feet, and the signs of the suffering preserved in them.[44] The body rose, therefore, because this was surely what was displayed to them even though they did not believe. What rose was in fact that which was also buried; and what was buried was that which also died; and what died was surely that which also was nailed to the cross. The divine nature remained impassible, therefore, even though joined to the body.

8. Those who call the Lord's flesh life-giving make life itself mortal with their statement. They should have understood that it is life-giving because of the life united to it. But if, according to what they say, life is mortal, how could the flesh, which is mortal by nature, but becomes life-giving through life, continue to be life-giving?

42. Col 1.18.
43. 1 Cor 15.20.
44. See Lk 24.39.

9. God the Word is immortal by nature, while the flesh is mortal by nature. But after the suffering it too became immortal through participation in the Word. Isn't it wicked, therefore, to say that the giver of such immortality shared in death?

[263] 10. Let those who maintain that God the Word suffered in the flesh be asked what their words mean. And if they should dare to say that the divine nature suffered pain of the body when it was crucified, let them learn that the divine nature did not fulfill the function of a soul. For God the Word also assumed a soul with the body. But if they were to reject this statement as blasphemous and say that the flesh suffered by nature, while God the Word took the suffering as his own because it belonged to his own flesh, they should not speak in riddles and obscure language, but should state clearly the meaning of the ill-sounding phrase. For they will have people who choose to follow divine Scripture as co-defenders of this interpretation.

11. In the catholic epistle the divine Peter said that "Christ suffered in the flesh."[45] When one hears Christ, one does not think of the bodiless divine Word, but of God the Word who became flesh. So the name of Christ reveals both natures, but the phrase "in the flesh," that was added on with the "suffering," signifies the nature that suffered, not both natures. For when one hears that "Christ suffered in the flesh," one understands that he is impassible as God and attributes the suffering to the flesh alone. For when we also hear him say that God swore to David that Christ would spring from the fruit of his loins according to the flesh,[46] we say that the flesh that God the Word assumed was of the same family as David, not that God the Word took his beginning from a seed of David; in the same way, then, when one hears that "Christ suffered in the flesh," one must understand the suffering of the flesh, and at the same time confess the impassibility of the divinity.

12. When Christ the Lord was being crucified, he said, "Father, into your hands I entrust my spirit."[47] The followers of Arius and Eunomius say that this spirit is the divinity of the only

45. 1 Pt 4.1.
46. See Acts 2.30.
47. Lk 23.46a.

begotten, for they think that a body without a soul had been assumed. But the heralds of the truth say that the soul was named in this way, and they thought this because of the words that follow. For the all-wise evangelist immediately added, "And when he had said this, he breathed his last."[48] This, then, is how Luke related these events, and the blessed Mark also included the words, "He breathed his last";[49] but the most divine Matthew said that "He let the spirit go,"[50] while the divinely inspired John said, [264] "He handed over the spirit."[51] Now they spoke all these words in accordance with the human way of speaking. For we have grown accustomed to say about those who die that he breathed his last and he let go or handed over the spirit. So none of these words signify the divinity, but they do point to the soul. And even if one were to accept the Arian understanding of the passage, it will nonetheless, even taken this way, show that the divine nature is immortal. For he entrusted it to the Father, he did not hand it over to death. If people who deny the assumption of the soul, say that God the Word is a creature, and teach that he had been in the body in place of a soul, claim that he was not handed over to death, but was entrusted to the Father, what kind of forgiveness could those people obtain, who confess that there is one substance of the Trinity and let the soul be in its own immortality, but nevertheless dare to say, without fear, that God the Word, who is of the same substance as the Father, tasted death?

13. If Christ was both God and a human being, as divine Scripture teaches and the blessed fathers always proclaimed, then he suffered as a human being, but remained impassible as God.

14. If they confess the assumption of the flesh, and say that it is passible before the resurrection, and proclaim the impassible nature of the divinity, why in the world do they leave the passible nature alone and attribute the suffering to the impassible nature?

15. If the savior and Lord, according to the divine Apostle,

48. Lk 23.46b.
49. Mk 15.37.
50. Mt 27.50.
51. Jn 19.30.

nailed our bond to the cross,[52] then he put nails in the body. For every human being fixes the stains of sin, like letters,[53] in the body. And so on behalf of sinners he handed over the body that was completely free of sin.

16. When we say that the body, the flesh, or the humanity suffered, we are not separating the divine nature [from it]. For just as the divine nature was united to it when it was hungry, thirsty, weary, sleeping, and suffering the passion, even though [the divine nature] was subject to none of this itself, but allowed the other to endure natural sufferings, so in the same way [the divine nature] was also joined to [the other] when it was crucified, and it allowed the suffering to be consummated, in order to put an end [265] to death through the suffering. It did not experience pain from the suffering, but it made the suffering its own, since it was [the suffering] of its own temple[54] and of the flesh that was united [to it]; and because of [this flesh] those who believe are called members of Christ,[55] and he has been named head of those who have believed.[56]

52. See Col 2.14.

53. Paul's "bond" refers to a record of human sins that was nailed to the cross with Christ's body, which was free of sin. Theodoret compares the letters on the bond to the stains of sin that sinful humans inflict on their own bodies. Thus, for Theodoret, it was Christ's body that suffered on behalf of sinners, not God the Word.

54. See Jn 2.19.

55. See 1 Cor 6.15.

56. See Eph 4.1–5.

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